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Space, Place and the Policing of Anti-social Behaviour in Rural Scotland

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Space, Place and the Policing of Anti-social Behaviour in Rural Scotland

Andrew Wooff

PhD Thesis

08/2014

University of Dundee

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Declaration

I, Andrew Wooff, am the sole author of this thesis; that, unless otherwise stated, all references cited have been consulted by me; that the work of which the thesis is a record has been done by me, and that it has not been previously accepted for a higher degree.

Signature:

Andrew Wooff

I confirm that the conditions of the relevant Ordinance and Regulations have been fulfilled.

Signature:

Professor N.R Fyfe

Abstract

Anti-social behaviour (herein ASB) has become important socially, politically and culturally in the United Kingdom over the past fifteen years. Successive Governments have prioritised tackling ASB, with a plethora of legislation being introduced to tackle low-level nuisance behaviour. The Crime and Disorder Act (1998) shaped much of the policy in relation to ASB, with the flagship policy of anti-social behaviour orders (ASBOs) being introduced alongside other punitive measures. Alongside the dramatic increase in policy aimed at criminalising nuisance behaviour, a large literature has emerged spanning the social sciences, allied health sciences and criminology fields.

Despite a large number of studies examining ASB, none has thus far explored ASB in rural locations. Given that Scotland is a predominantly rural country, it is important that a concept that has driven a large part of the criminal justice agenda is conceptualised in rural locations. Despite the Social Attitudes Survey highlighting the fact that rural areas statistically suffer from less ASB, there is a commonly held (mis)conception that this means that the impact of ASB on rural areas is also less (Ormston & Anderson, 2009). There is also an assumption in the existing literature that because there is statistically less ASB in rural areas, that ASB is less serious than that which exists in urban locations. In addition to a general lack of theorisation of ASB in rural Scotland, the challenges of responding to ASB over a large geographic area adds an interesting and important spatial dimension to the way that ASB is tackled. The core argument in this thesis, therefore, is that the distinctive characteristics of rural environments are central to understanding the nature, meaning and impact of ASB in this environment.

This thesis therefore begins to redress the lack of work on ASB in rural locations by conceptualising and analysing the nature and impact of, and responses to, ASB in two case study locations in rural Scotland. Garland's theorisation of the new culture of crime control which emerged in the late 90s provides a helpful urban focused framework to examine debates around rural ASB (Garland, 1996). Drawing on the existing urban-based ASB literature, the thesis begins by critically examining whether ASB that occurs in rural locations is distinct from that witnessed in urban environments. This thesis argues that, although there are distinct aspects to the ASB

present in the rural Scottish case studies, the ASB experienced typically mirrors that experienced in urban locations rather than reflecting a distinct form of rural ASB.

Nevertheless, the rural context fundamentally shapes the impact that ASB has on rural communities. The thesis draws on criminological and rural literatures to argue that a more sophisticated approach, where scale, harm and context are central components of the way that the impact of ASB on rural communities is understood, needs to be developed. The limited rural literature examining crime often neglects the everyday, lived reality of the impact of ASB and crime on remote populations, instead tending to focus on the structural challenges associated with tackling ASB. Exploring the impact of ASB at this micro-scale illuminates interesting differences between the urban conceptualisations of ASB and those found in the rural.

Progressing up to the meso-scale is important for understanding ways that the police and other actors respond to ASB in rural locations. The challenges associated with the scale of rural locations is apparent through the response of the police and other agencies to ASB. This thesis argues that, in contrast to the way that ASB is conceptualised in rural locations, there is a distinct rural policing response to ASB with a distinct interaction between agencies, the community and the police which is enabled by the scale at which each operates. ASB in rural locations therefore tends to be tackled in a more holistic manner, in which the circumstances of the individuals involved tend to be considered before the appropriate interventions are made. Context and scale therefore play a key role in understanding the response of various actors to ASB.

Combining these three conceptual inputs, this study engages with an area of ASB which has hitherto received scant attention. In contrast to much of the existing urban ASB literature, which treats the context as a passive entity, this thesis argues that 'the rural' is a key contextual part of understanding the nature and impact of, and responses to, ASB. Far from being a peripheral part of the ASB literature, the rural environment therefore should be considered of key importance for understanding ASB in other contexts.

1 Introduction: Policy context and study aims

1.1 Introduction

ASB has played a central part of the United Kingdom (UK) Government's criminal justice policy over the past fifteen years, with nuisance behaviour being routinely criminalised. Although justice is now devolved to Scotland, successive Governments in Scotland and in England and Wales have prioritised tackling ASB, with the current Home Secretary Theresa May stating that 'anti-social behaviour still blights lives, wrecks communities and provides a pathway to criminality' (May, 2010), while Gordon Brown stated that his Government was committed to doing everything in its power to tackle anti-social behaviour (Brown, 2006). There has been a clear appetite from successive governments to tackle ASB, both through the rhetoric from Home Secretaries and Prime Ministers, and through the creation of ASB policy.

This chapter begins by examining the policy context of this study, highlighting that ASB has emerged from a broader shift towards punitive crime control elements, something which Garland (2001) argues has emerged from the risks, insecurities and control problems associated with cultural and political changes. The chapter proceeds by highlighting where the overarching aim of the thesis emerged from and introduces the research questions. The final part of this chapter outlines the structure of the thesis.

1.2 The policy context of the study

Although ASB has its roots in legislation developed in the 1980s, it was not until the 'New Labour' government of 1997 that the term 'anti-social behaviour' entered popular discourse (Millie et al., 2005; Squires and Stephen, 2005). As Millie (2009) notes, ASB has become something of an obsession in the UK with both Prime Ministers Blair and Brown introducing a raft of legislative measures designed to reduce ASB, while the Liberal/Conservative coalition have recently introduced legislation designed to tackle ASB (Brown, 2013; Burney, 2009).

Much of New Labour's ASB policy can be traced back to the Conservative's 1986 Public Order Act, where the three pillars of harassment, alarm and distress were introduced as a means of determining whether someone was committing a public

order act offence or not (Millie, 2009). At this point, the term ‘anti-social behaviour’ was not used in legislation, although the three pillars mentioned in the Public Order Act underpinned much of the legislation introduced under New Labour. Indeed, the first time that ASB is mentioned in legislation is in the 1996 Housing Act, where powers were introduced for social landlords to evict anti-social tenants (Millie, 2009). However, it was not until the 1998 Crime and Disorder Act, one of the first pieces of legislation to be passed by the Labour government, that a definition of ASB was given (Home Office, 1999).

ASB is defined as acting ‘in a manner that caused or was likely to cause harassment, alarm or distress to one or more persons not of the same household as [the perpetrator]’ (Home Office, 1998). The lack of definitional clarity means that there has been a large debate in both policy and academic circles about what actually constitutes ASB; it covers a large range of behaviours from littering to serious harassment and a large range of sanction are available to both the police and local authority (Ashworth Gardner et al., 1998; Brown, 2013; Burney, 2002; Millie et al., 2005; Whitehead et al., 2003). Broadly, the ASB agenda emerged from ‘the shifting culture of control’, whereby the responsabilization of citizens has been a central tenet of state governmentality in relation to crime control over the past twenty years (Garland, 2001). This shift is evident in the policy development around ASB, which indicates an increase in the culture of control. The devolving of crime control from the state led ‘police’ to the third sector, community groups and other individuals responsible for control, means that those in the crime control field are ‘no longer marked out by the institutions of the criminal justice state’ (Garland, 2001: 170). The adaptive strategies of individual communities varies across space and time, with the ‘identification of people or organisations which have the competence to reduce criminal opportunities effectively’ (Garland, 2001: 125) leading to an uneven situation of crime control, with some communities engaging wholeheartedly in informal policing methods and others not having the apparent ‘community capacity’ to cope (Garland, 2000). There is a clear geography, therefore, to the implementation and engagement with ASB policy over space.

In order to counteract the uneven spatiality of community schemes, the police and local councils aim to have police governance structures which tackle crime in a way which is ‘culturally and socially conditioned’ to the local needs of a particular

location (Garland 2001: 348). This narrative suggests that somehow some neighbourhoods have ‘lost’ the ability to deal with bad behaviour through informal means (Burney, 2009, 2002), thus the government has sought to give individual communities the power to deal with perceived unruly behaviour. The Home Office (2002) highlights the role communities should play in helping with the ‘enforcement action’ in addressing what they term ‘the justice gap’. This is the cumulative injustice arising from the fact that the majority of ASB offenders are not brought to court (and therefore justice in the eyes of some people) and the majority of victims receive little or no social redress (Squires, 2006). Hansen et al., (2003) note that this should be understood in terms of an ‘enforcement deficit’ in marginalised communities, where victims have no mechanism for addressing the collective and accumulative impact of harm and distress. The justice gap, New Labour believed, could be addressed by empowering the ‘community’ to take action and tackle ASB (Squires, 2006).

Garland’s work is useful for structuring the policy context in relation to ASB, yet, in the same way that policy tends to operate at a macro scale and is implemented in different ways in different contexts, Garland’s work takes a similar urban focused, large scale approach. Yet, as this thesis will show, to analyse the narratives around ASB in rural Scotland, local context and scale become inherently important. The implementation of policy, the contexts, settings and populations, are imperative for considering the nature and impacts of, and responses to, ASB across different communities in rural Scotland. The communities that were the target of the New Labour ASB agenda, namely problematic social groups such as young people and excluded/marginalised communities, have, with a few notable exceptions, been largely absent from the broader rural literatures. The dominant policy discourse links ASB to urban problem areas, places which New Labour claim could be improved by improving the social bonds of inner city communities (Moore, 2008). This assumption is problematized in this thesis. This viewpoint, is nevertheless, reflected in a raft of policy introduced in the early 2000s, including the White Paper named ‘Building Communities, Beating Crime’ (Home Office, 2004a) and the introduction of ‘The National Policing Plan 2005-2008’ (Home Office, 2005). Within these policies, community is clearly implicated as a way of tackling ASB, something which culminated in the Respect Action Plan introduced in 2006 (Home

Office 2006b). New Labour therefore clearly identified the lack of community spirit through social and moral decline and a lack of social cohesion as a key driver in the issue of ASB (Millie, 2008; Prior, 2009). In rural locations, policy tends to assume that these social problems are less marked (Donnermeyer and DeKeseredy, 2014), meaning that ASB policy has been typically urban focused.

The late 2000s witnessed the introduction of the youth focused Youth Taskforce Action Plan (Department for children school and families, 2008). As an extension of previous Labour policy, this focused on young people. The current coalition government are following a similar tact, with the recent ASB consultation document stating that ‘anti-social behaviour should also be a priority for other local agencies with responsibilities for community safety...and empower[ing] people to shape the police...’, highlighting a clear link to the responsabilization and punitive rhetoric of the early Blair Governments (Home Office, 2011: 1). They also propose simplifying the plethora of legislation introduced under New Labour from nineteen sanctions to six (Home Office, 2012). This legislation received Royal Assent in March 2014, being introduced into practice in November 2014.

This section has introduced the main policy developments relating to ASB in England and Wales set broadly in the context of the changing cultures of control (Garland, 2001). The policy context is important because with devolution in Scotland in 1999, ASB policy between England and Wales and Scotland initially converged and has begun to diverge. The next section examines these ASB policy developments in the Scottish context.

1.2.1 ASB policy changes: A story of convergence and divergence

Following devolution in Scotland, ASB policy in Scotland initially followed closely that in England and Wales. National standards in youth justice were published in 2002 which created multi-agency youth justice teams with responsibility for strategic planning and expanding the range of services for young offenders (McAra and McVie, 2010). The focus at this point was on restorative justice as part of the solution to youth crime, while there was an aim to reduce persistent offending, with discussion concentrated on punitiveness (McAra and McVie, 2010).

In part, this was down to the fact that Labour was in power in Scotland and England and Wales until 2007 and therefore there was a closer policy match up north and

south of the border in relation to ASB at this time (Burney, 2009). A number of parliamentary debates illustrate a ‘degree of tension between the inclusionary and exclusionary imperatives’ (McAra and McVie, 2010: 182), with policy development in Scotland broadly mirroring the English and Welsh systems. The introduction of the Anti-social Behaviour Act (Scotland) (2004) mirrored the enforcement measures introduced under the Anti-social Behaviour Act 2003 in England and Wales (Home Office, 2003; Scottish Executive, 2004). The introduction of this Act in Scotland created debate, with many both in Government and wider policy circles disagreeing with the punitive parts of the Act (Burney, 2006). The convergent themes created a tension, particularly within the Scottish youth justice policy, where debate between the ‘inclusionary and exclusionary imperatives’ where the child became ‘an offender’ nested within a suffering community appeared to be contradictory (McAra & McVie, 2010: 182). Ultimately the latter vision prevailed, with the election of the minority SNP government in Scotland in 2007 signalling a ‘third phase’ in ASB policy (McAra and McVie, 2010).

The election of a minority Scottish National Party (SNP) in 2007 heralded a subtle shift in policy, with the introduction of ‘Preventing Offending by Young People: A Framework for Action’ (Scottish Government, 2008). This was ‘underpinned by an uneasy mixture of welfarist, actuarialist and retributive impulses’, where the SNP were committed to joining up services between the youth crime agenda and the education and health agendas, yet at the same time were arguing that children and families must take responsibility for their behaviour (McAra and McVie, 2010: 182; Scottish Government, 2010a). This culminated in the ‘Promoting Positive Outcomes: Working Together to Prevent Anti-social Behaviour in Scotland Strategy’, which introduced the prevention, intervention, enforcement and rehabilitation (P.I.E.R.) model advocating ‘a balanced, holistic and multi-agency approach’ (Scottish Government, 2009: 21). Since the landslide victory of the SNP in 2011, the criminal justice model for ASB has moved further towards the prevention and early integration, diverging from the proposals currently being discussed in England and Wales.

1.3 Research context and themes

The research questions are fully elaborated upon in chapter three; however, the narratives that they explore are important for identifying the prominent themes in the

literature that is reviewed in chapter two and for identifying the ordering of the chapters. As previous sections in this chapter have alluded to, the rural context forms an important framework for examining ASB. The local scale of the case study locations is therefore an important consideration. Much has been written about the broad definition of ASB, with Millie (2009) arguing that it is so broad that virtually any behaviour can be considered as ‘anti-social’. The first theme of this thesis therefore examines the nature of ASB in rural Scotland. Using existing urban typologies, the thesis examines the extent to which ASB in rural locations is distinct to that in urban locations. The second substantive theme relates to the impact of the dominant forms of ASB on rural communities. Due to the scale of the locality of rural locations being different, with the case study villages being bounded by fields, the spatial impact of ASB on the villages is important. The third key theme relates to the response of the community, local authority and the police to ASB. Again, the rural context plays an important role here; the spatial reality of responding to minor ASB makes it a challenging landscape for the police and local authorities (Donnermeyer and DeKeseredy, 2014). Additionally, as this chapter has already outlined, there are challenges associated with active citizenship, particularly around engagement with local, ‘small p’ politics (Gilling, 2010).

Although there has been a policy divergence between Scotland and England and Wales, ASB both north and south of the border has been identified as a key criminal justice policy area. Coinciding with the increase in policy and rhetoric, there have been a significant number of studies over the years critiquing ASB policy, with studies from Burney (2002), Crawford (2009), Millie (2009) and Squires and Stephen (2005) highlighting some of the criminological critiques, while Artaraz et al., (2007), Nixon et al., (2010), Parr and Nixon (2008) examine ASB from a social work intervention viewpoint. Other studies have examined the politics related to ASB (Flint and Nixon, 2006; Flint, 2004; Squires, 2008) and the policing responses to ASB (Brown, 2004, 2013; Innes and Weston, 2010). Despite a plethora of ASB studies emerging in the past decade, none have examined ASB in rural areas, with Millie (2009: 29) suggesting that ‘ASB is an urban issue’. However, a small but significant percentage of people perceive ASB to be a problem in rural locations.

Interestingly, however, the urban context, which shapes the nature and impact of ASB, plays a relatively inert part in the understanding of ASB to date. With the exception of Millie's (2008) article on ASB and the urban aesthetic, and Flints (2006) work on housing, other work on ASB tends to underplay the importance of the context and the role that the urban environ plays in defining the nature and impact of ASB. This is even more evident in ASB policy development, where the rural geographic context plays a minor role in the development of national ASB policy implementations. However, as Garland (2001: 123) notes, the community context and micro level scale is important for analysing the responsabilization agenda, where 'the community has become the all-purpose solution to every criminal justice problem'. A central conceptual development in this thesis emerges from this rationale; the rural context plays a central role in understanding ASB in rural Scotland, and therefore the local scale is a key unit of analysis within this thesis.

Much of the existing criminological ASB literature focuses on ASB at the urban, city wide scale, which is useful for examining policy impact at a structural level, but examining the nature and impacts of ASB on a rural community relies on the local unit of analysis. Scholars in the field of children's geographies and rural geographies have, however, been more forthcoming at critically analysing respective projects at the local scale unit of analysis (see for example Ansell, 2009; Panelli, 2006). Children's geographies, in particular, have almost exclusively focused on children and young people as active agents who socially construct their lives, which naturally leads to a large number of studies examining children's micro geographies (Ansell, 2009). Although there are larger scale studies of rural society which seek to examine social systems (eg Gilling, 2011), smaller units of analysis tend to be more common. As Panelli, (2006) notes, the family, the locality and community all form important units of analysis in rural studies. When examining the nature and impact of ASB, this study focuses predominantly on the community level scale that is the village boundary. Responses to ASB are explored in chapter eight and nine and relate to the ways that ASB policy implemented by local authorities and the Scottish government impact on the way that the police and other services respond to ASB within two rural communities. Examining ASB at these scales allows for analysis of the complex intertwining between locality, representation and the everyday lives of those living within rural communities (Halfacree, 2006; Panelli, 2006).

The term ‘community’ is complex, challenging, problematic and ultimately difficult to define. Herbert (2006: 3) refers to community as the ‘god word’, a concept which is frequently conflated in a problematic way with notions of neighbourhood. It is not the aim of this thesis to critique or develop understandings of the term community, but rather to use conceptions of the rural locality to develop an understanding of nature and impact of ASB at the local scale. Herbert’s (2006: 13) analysis of communities concludes that it is ‘all too often *unbearably light* [emphasis original], whereby community members typically do not possess a wish to have political responsibilities and where even those that do, possess limited ability to engage with the state’. Of particular interest to this thesis is the idea that the responsible citizen and ‘community’, as developed through the governmentality thesis, is by its very nature discriminatory. Panelli (2006) and Halfacree (2006) note that the locality has become a useful way of understanding rural space, where a strategy is offered, ‘for enabling rural society to be understood as linked to wider national and global processes in a range of mutually constituting relationships’ (Panelli, 2006: 70). Halfacree (2006) argues that the rural localities are inscribed through relatively distinctive spatial practices, with a predominantly agricultural economy making way for other forms of economies. The locality therefore forms an important layer of the local scale at which to analyse and examine ASB in rural Scotland.

The literature suggests that ‘the rural’ is a diverse landscape which remains poorly conceptualised in policy literature, being seen in a monolithic manner in relation to crime control and policing (Yarwood, 2011). The rural geographic academic literature highlights the different conceptualisations of the rural, including representations of the rural as an idyll and as deprived (Cloke, 2006; Gilling, 2011). The way ‘the rural’ is constructed thus becomes important for understanding ASB. There is also literature which suggests that some rural communities are more likely to have a conviviality and organisation, which may improve responses to ASB (Lee and Thomas, 2009; Neal and Walters, 2008; Tolbert et al., 2002). The rural therefore provides an interesting backdrop for exploring the nature and impact of, and responses to, ASB. In addition, by highlighting the implications for policy and practice, this study contributes to a broad geographic literature which suggests that the rural context needs careful consideration when applying policy developed in urban contexts (Cloke, 2006).

More broadly, understanding the national, macro-scale governance of policing is important for examining the ways that the study of crime has changed, with neoliberalism and the ‘geography of social control’ becoming major discourses in how policing is implemented (Fyfe, 1991; Lowman, 1989). While there was a renewed focus on crime and policing in the late 80s, it is the last twenty years which have witnessed a significant geographical contribution to the examination of how law, governance and policy have impacted on the spatiality of crime and policing, in particular through increasingly critical analysis on the impact of crime and policing on society (Yarwood, 2010). Since the late 90s, a large body of work has emerged focusing on ‘policing’ rather than ‘the police’, with literature examining the pluralisation of policing (see Mackenzie and Henry, 2009; Mawby, 2011; Yarwood, 2007; O’Neill and McCarthy, 2014) the surveillance of the public, through both policing structures and technology (see Fyfe and Bannister, 1996; Fyfe, 2009) and the change in governance and policing structures (see Garland, 2001; Newburn, 2002; Yarwood, 2007). In terms of rural ASB, understanding how the governance of crime impacts communities allows for the analysis of the formal and informal policing methods used to prevent ASB.

Decisions taken at a national level in relation to policing therefore directly impact the rural locality. In order to attempt to counteract the uneven spatiality of community schemes, the police and local council aim to have police governance structures which tackle crime in a way which is ‘culturally and socially conditioned’ to the local needs of a particular location (Garland, 2001: 348). The local context is therefore a key part of the process of understanding both ASB and the community and state responses to ASB. Perhaps more than in urban environments, policing in the rural has been thought of in similar conceptual terms as the ‘rural idyll’, with low crime and the local bobby-on-the beat imagery being pertinent (Anderson, 1997; Donnermeyer and DeKeseredy, 2014). A number of questions arose from analysing this literature, questions which are explored in section 3.4.

1.4 Chapter outline

The thesis is divided into ten chapters. In chapter two, different ways of understanding and theorising ASB are explored. This advances through understanding ASB as a set of typologies, before conceptualising ASB through harm and signal disorders is explored. This chapter progresses onto examining the

common causes of ASB, which in existing literature relate mainly to young people, bad parenting and the community context. The final part of the chapter asks the question of whether the response to ASB is a shifting culture of control, as described by (Garland, 2001). This highly influential idea highlights how ‘safety’ in neo-liberal societies involves a complex interplay of ‘sovereign state’, where the state enhances the power given to state actors such as the police, and ‘adaptive strategies’, which encourages greater public responsibility and partnerships. This chapter concludes by introducing the rural context of this study.

Chapter three provides a more comprehensive examination of the rural, focusing on challenging representations of the rural idyll. The chapter proceeds by introducing other conceptualisations of the rural by exploring differing conceptualisations of the rural by young people and the community. It finds that the rural idyll is only one interpretation of the rural and argues that using Halfacree's (2006) totality of rural space is helpful for bringing together rural representations, the rural locality and the everyday lives of those living in rural locations to better understand rural space. The second half of the chapter brings together the emerging narratives of the thesis and introduces the research questions, highlighting the innovation in this thesis.

Chapter four describes the methodology chosen for this study, outlining why a mixed methods qualitative approach was used and the ways it affected my analysis. The key aspects of this methodology relate to the case-study approach, engagement with the police and young people ‘on the front line’ through participant observation and the inclusion of five different participant groups to gain a deep understanding of ASB in a remote rural and an accessibly rural location in Scotland. The case study locations are also introduced, and the rationale for choosing them is explained. They were identified using the Scottish Government Urban/Rural Classification and the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation

Chapter five provides four vignettes to highlight the complexities of qualitative research by exploring methodological and ethical issues in more detail. In particular, the issues of gaining informed consent are explored. As a way of engaging with the everyday context of the rural, the chapter begins by describing my own arrival story in the case study locations. The aim here is to illustrate the methods outlined in chapter four in more detail and highlight the fact that although you can plan for

every eventuality, the realities of conducting qualitative research in the field mean it is necessary to think on your feet.

Chapter six explores the nature of ASB in rural Scotland, using the lens of typologies. It questions whether existing typologies are helpful for describing the types of behaviour that are considered ASB in rural locations, before highlighting the importance of perception and context for providing a basis for understanding ASB. The second half of the chapter problematizes the primary causes of ASB identified in the literature, explaining that young people could be as easily considered as ‘at risk’ than as ‘a risk’. The chapter finishes by asking whether we need to conceptualise ASB as ‘rural ASB’ or ‘ASB in rural areas’.

Chapter seven examines the impact of ASB on rural populations. This chapter argues that the nature of ASB is intrinsically linked to impact. Thus, the typologies outlined in chapter six and utilised by the police, housing associations and others to identify behaviours that they consider to be ASB, should be reconsidered. It brings together signal crime perspective theory and theories of harm developed by Innes and Weston (2010) and Innes (2004). This chapter also uses Halfacree's (2006) model to understand rural space in a theoretically informed manner, arguing that bringing together these inputs allows for ASB to be analysed at the local, everyday scale. This, in turn, means the impact of ASB can be understood in terms of the amount of harm it causes individuals and not necessarily by the behaviour that is taking place. The final part of this chapter examines the impact that ‘outsiders’ cause in the case study locations.

Chapter eight is the first of two chapters examining the response to ASB in rural locations. This chapter examines the role of the youth work setup in both locations for providing responses to ASB, by identifying and setting up diversionary strategies. The agency of the youth worker is important in explaining their overall strategy for tackling ASB. The second half of this chapter explores the community response to ASB, and particularly in the context of rural communities, the ways that community change organisations attempt to tackle ASB using situational measures and mechanisms. In contrast to the youth workers, who tend to respond using social measures and mechanisms, this study argues that communities tend to use situational measures and mechanism to respond to challenge of community.

Chapter nine explores the responses of the police to ASB in rural Scotland. It draws on Herbert's (1997) work on the ways that the six normative orders of law, bureaucratic ordering, adventure/machismo, morality, safety and competence directly structure the ways that the police in Los Angeles control territory. Applying these urban typologies to rural locations allows for a partial analysis of the policing response to anti-social behaviour in rural Scotland. However, this chapter argues that normative orders operate in a fairly aspatial way, lacking context and underplaying the role that order maintenance rather than enforcement plays in policing rural locations. In order to understand fully the response of the police to ASB in rural locations, it is important to understand the context of the broader community safety agenda for structuring policing responses in rural locations. In particular, this chapter argues that discretion, partnership and multiagency working and the unique interaction that rural police officers have with the community that they police plays a key role in structuring the policing response to anti-social behaviour in rural locations.

In the final chapter, the findings and conclusions are examined and a retrospective analysis of the research process is provided. A number of implications for policy and practice are offered along with potential areas for further research, helping to make evidence-based contributions to policy and practice in the fields of geography and criminology.

2 Understanding ASB: The nature, the causes and the responses

2.1 Introduction

Chapter one introduced the rationale and policy context for this project, noting that the rural context is a key part of understanding the nature and impact of, and responses to, ASB. The aim of this chapter is to analyse the ways that ASB as a concept has developed in the academic literature, particularly against a specific set of social, political and cultural backdrops. Conceptualisations of ASB developed in urban locations. Whilst clearly acknowledging ‘the urban’ as a diverse and spatially unique context, existing conceptualisation nevertheless tend to offer a limited examination of the role that the context has on the nature and impact of, and responses to, ASB. This chapter begins, however, by arguing that there are useful insights that can be garnered from the existing urban based ASB literature, with a decontextualized examination of the complexities in defining ASB. The common causes of ASB are then explored, with reference to young people, bad parenting and the community. The final part of the chapter sets the context for the rest of the thesis, by introducing the rural situation in relation to ASB.

2.2 Defining ASB: A challenging task

Although ASB as a concept has existed for many years, it remains poorly defined, with many authors commenting on the vagueness of the term (Burney, 2002; Jacobson *et al.*, 2008; Squires, 2006; Millie 2009). Originating from the psychology literature, ASB is defined as causing ‘harassment, alarm or distress to one or more persons not of the same household’ (Home Office, 1999; Millie, 2009). As Millie (2009: 8-9) notes, at best this definition ‘lacks legislative clarity’ while at worst ‘runs the risk of infringing rule of law principles by failing to give fair warning to citizens of what kind of conduct may trigger these [ASB] power’. Burney (2009: 8) notes that there is no easy way to encompass ‘problem types of behaviour’ and so the ‘elastic nature of the idea of ASB [as given in the crime and disorder 1998 act]...means the dividing law between ASB and crime is a shifting one’. Indeed, the phrase ‘harassment, alarm or distress’, within the legislation allows for particularly broad interpretation (Herbert, 2006).

Without belittling the serious problems that persistent ASB can cause, one person's view of harassment, alarm or distress can be quite different to someone else (Mckenzie et al., 2010). As Jacobson et al., (2008: 380) explains, ASB is a 'label of convenience for disparate forms of activity', with elasticity in what acts are considered anti-social, ranging from minor irritations to more serious criminal activity. For instance, being rude to someone in the street or stealing a car could both be considered anti-social - yet the reality is that legislation introduced to combat ASB would be unlikely to be used in either case, with the former being too trivial and latter being covered by criminal law (*ibid.*).

Defining ASB becomes more complex when temporality and spatiality of behaviour is considered (Mayfield and Mills, 2008). Behaviour that is accepted or tolerated at a particular time is not acceptable at other times, while behaviour accepted in a particular location can be unacceptable at another. The rowdy nature of children in a high school at lunchtime, for instance, elicits a different response than young people hanging about outside a care home for the elderly at night (Mayfield and Mills, 2008); while Burney (2009) observes that spitting can be quite acceptable on the football pitch, yet it is also considered offensive, uncivil and anti-social in other situations¹. The context in which certain behaviour occurs is therefore a central part of whether an action is considered ASB or not. There are behavioural expectations which deem certain activities at certain times acceptable in a civil society, with behaviour which goes against these norms considered to be creating incivility in the community (Squires and Stephen, 2005). In addition, young people are often blamed for causing ASB (see section 2.7.2), with Mayfield and Mills (2008) usefully highlighting the generational differences that ASB legislation struggles to account for, with, for example, technological advances creating the opportunity for youths to play music on mobile phones on public transport – an act many older people consider anti-social. Whitehead et al., (2003:4-5 cited in Millie 2008) proposes that 'virtually any activity can be anti-social depending on a range of background factors, such as the context in which it occurs, the location, people's tolerance levels and the expectations about the quality of life in an area', highlighting the broad definitional issues associated with ASB legislation.

¹ Two men were fined £300 each for spitting, prosecuted under anti-littering legislation <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2430724/Pair-men-caught-spitting-prosecuted-Britain-LITTERING-laws-fined-300-each.html>

The lack of definitional clarity in ASB legislation has been heavily criticised by those assessing the impact of ASB legislation in the academic literature (see Harradine et al., 2004; Jacobson et al., 2008; Mackenzie and Fraser, 2010; Millie, 2009; Millie et al., 2005) has however enabled policy practitioners local discretion in how they implement ASB policy. Carr and Cowan (2006: 58) suggest it is this absence of definition that gives the ASB label its power, allowing localised solutions to be implemented under the banner of ‘preventing ASB’ and in line with local council and policing priorities. Despite the challenges associated with defining ASB, there have been a number of attempts to define ASB, most frequently as a set of typologies.

2.3 Understanding ASB as a set of typologies

Given the vagueness of the term ASB, a number of typologies have been developed to try and better capture forms of behaviour that could be considered ASB. The original list of behaviours (see Appendix 1), defined by the Home Office (2004) as a result of a one day count of ASB, still contained a large degree of ambiguity (Millie, 2009). Behaviours such as ‘noise’ are context, time dependent and difficult to gauge whether an action is or is not ASB (Ormston and Anderson, 2009). Indeed, Millie (2008) highlights ASB as an ‘urban problem’ which requires ‘urban solutions’, a point which is underlined by the evidence base used by authors in the field. The case study areas referred to in the literature are almost exclusively urban and metropolitan, understandable given that the evidence base for policy marks ASB out as an ‘urban based problem’. While this is undoubtedly where much of the ASB literature is focused (Jacobson et al., 2008) this project will allow the evidence base to be broadened beyond this narrow understanding. Additionally, the urban context plays a limited role in this list of behaviour, with the Home Office (2004), listing a set of behaviours that it considers should be considered ASB at a national, decontextualised scale. As this project highlights, although there are fewer incidences of ASB in rural Scotland, the rural context means that forms of ASB can be more impactful at a micro-level scale.

In recognition of the vast number of behaviours listed by the Home Office, attempts have been made to group types of behaviours into categories which recognise the various spatial scales that ASB operates over. Bannister & Scott (2000) produced one of the early typologies related to housing and consequently used the

neighbourhood as a basis for defining forms of ASB. In terms of typologies, there is a consensus amongst scholars that ASB typologies should not include criminal acts, with criminal behaviour being covered by the relevant criminal sanctions.

The typologies around ASB were further developed by Harradine et al., (2004) and Millie et al., (2005), where ASB was categorised into three groups – ASB which is interpersonal and malicious, environmental ASB and ASB which restricts access to public spaces. The progression of typologies also underlines some of the wider debates in the ASB literature about when ASB legislation should be used and when wider criminal sanctions should be utilised (Mathews and Briggs, 2009). More importantly, however, the descriptions of types of ASB are inherently spatial, yet are also decontextualized with no sense of the situation in which these forms of ASB arise. Indeed, Millie (2009:13) notes that ‘classification can only go so far in determining the exact nature of ASB’. In particular, much of the existing literature neglects the importance of the context of the community and relative inaccessibility of the services which respond to ASB in rural locations. This thesis makes an important contribution by contextualising ASB in different types of rural location by expanding on these existing typologies and examining whether the evidence suggests there is rural ASB or that ASB in rural Scotland is similar to that reported by existing studies in urban contexts.

Understanding ASB as a set of typologies is important as much of the policy guides, citizen advice guides and council response to ASB still list types of behaviours when defining what ASB is. While this is useful for providing a general guidance on ASB, the reality is that the public rarely distinguish between ASB and crime (Innes and Weston, 2010). This project therefore argues that it is important to move on from typologies and begin to theorise ASB in terms of the signal crimes perspective and the harm that ASB causes.

2.4 Understanding ASB from a signal disorder perspective

Martin Innes's (2004) work on signal crimes and disorders is a useful way of beginning to bring together these different typologies of ASB. Primarily developed as a theoretical tool for moving away from a ‘fear of crime’ and the ‘broken windows’ rationale for policing interventions, Innes's (2004) builds on earlier work by Goffman (1972: 247), where in his ‘Normal Appearances’ essay, he describes

how individuals ritualistically scan social spaces ‘for signs of alarm’ and ‘signs of harm’. As Innes (2004: 341) explains, the implication of Goffman’s work is ‘that social order is ordinarily sustained by a veneer of normal appearances, which are themselves products of ritualised civility’.

The signal disorder perspective proposes ‘that people interpret the occurrence of certain incidents as ‘warning signals’ about the levels of risk to which they are either actually or potentially exposed’ (Innes, 2004: 335). It is a particularly useful way of unpacking the way people think, feel and act in relation to ASB, which in turn illuminates the impact that ASB has on rural communities – differentiating between everyday ‘noise’ and incidents that are classed as signal crimes and disorders. Indeed, Innes (2004: 342) work on signal disorders, highlights the difference between a signal disorder from ‘mere noise’ – mere noise being defined as ‘the plethora of incidents and occurrences that, in contrast to the signal disorders, assume no real significance to people in the routines of daily life, and consequently are not consciously attended to’. To be considered a ‘signal disorder’, there must be ‘an expression, a content and an effect’ (Innes, 2004: 342).

Signal disorders therefore denote the presence of unwanted risk. The expression part of a signal crime is the description of the incident – in rural Scotland, this was frequently young people hanging about in the square and being rowdy – which then has an effect on the individual who witnesses it (Innes, 2004). This effect may be not allowing children to go to the park after dark, the ‘content’ being the perceived risk to the children that these other young people may cause. Thus the signal – the young people hanging about – has an expression, content and effect (Goffman, 1971; Innes, 2004). By utilising this approach for understanding the action which are considered anti-social, the impact of ASB on the community can also be explored, because the examination of ASB becomes contextualised. Bringing together the literature on rural space (see chapter three) and theorising ASB in terms of signal crimes perspective and the harm it causes the community allows this thesis to explore the impact of ASB on rural communities - something which has been missing from existing ASB literature (Jacobson et al., 2008). Chapter seven explores this in the context of the case studies in rural Scotland.

2.5 Using harm as a way of understanding ASB

Understandings of harm lies at the heart of the signal crimes perspective (Innes and Weston, 2010). As the typologies above highlight, definitions of ASB are becoming increasingly technical, creating confusion between what is criminal and what is ASB. Innes and Weston (2010: 44) note that:

‘The current arrangements for defining and classifying disorders does not appear to be ‘fit for purpose’, based as they are upon increasingly complex, technical and frequently artificial boundaries between acts. In their current form they require a lot of effort for police organisations to operationalize them, and as identified by this research, they are not doing a particularly good job of establishing the overall scale of the ASB problem’

In response to this critique of existing typologies of ASB, Innes & Weston (2010) propose using harm as a base principle of deciding whether an action is a policing matter, instead of relying on false binaries between crime and ASB to drive responses to ASB. This is helpful for getting beyond the ‘increasingly technical definitions of ASB’ to begin to think about ASB in terms of ‘harm’ and ‘impacts’ using signal crimes perspective methodology (Innes and Weston, 2010; Innes, 2004). In particular, Innes & Weston (2010) differentiate between the number of people harmed by a particular incident and the amount of harm done to each of them. They refer to the former as ‘scale’ and the latter as ‘intensity’ and together this leads to social harm footprints. Table 2.1 summarises the ways that Innes and Weston (2010) differentiate between intensity and scale:

	High Scale	Low Scale
High Intensity	Public Harm – impacts on many people quite significantly. Included here: problem teenagers, drunk and rowdy behaviour, vandalism	Personal Harm – impacts upon a few victims but very profoundly. Included here: Race/hate crime, noisy neighbours, bullying
Low Intensity	Parochial Harm – moderate level impacts across neighbourhoods. Included here: Litter, dog dirt, drug use in public	Low Harm – has little at all. Included here: Abandoned cars, low level rowdy behaviour, intermittent nuisance behaviour

Table 2.1: Categorising ASB harm - adapted from Innes & Weston (2010: 20)

Impact is a key part of the social harm thesis, with the degree of impact differentiating between the scales of ASB. As Innes & Weston (2010) explain, by framing the impact of ASB in this way, a more nuanced way of thinking can be developed, especially about who is impacted by ASB and to what extent. Categorising issues such as dog dirt, seen as a large problem in both case study sites, as a parochial harm helps to direct the correct policing and community responses. It is possible, therefore, to begin to explore what kinds of impacts particular problems have upon the public by thinking of specific forms of harm and scaling the response accordingly, rather than assuming low-level ASB is not an issue for the public.

As Innes & Weston (2010: 45) note, categorising harm in the way described above 'is a defining quality of signal crimes perspective (SCP)'. SCP distinguishes between crimes and disorders, contending that some 'are more impactful than others because of their capacity to induce and trigger negative social reactions' (*ibid.*). The work by Innes (2004) identifies three main groups of negative reaction; cognitive effects where there is a change in how the person 'thinks' about their safety, 'affective' where there is a change in how people feel and 'behavioural' where there is a change in how people act in relation to perceptions or experiences.

This is a helpful way of thinking about ASB. Innes and Weston (2010) have usefully moved the debate on from an increasingly complex set of typologies in relation to ASB, thinking more broadly about ways of categorising ASB and importantly creating the link between types of behaviour and the impact that this behaviour causes. However, although this work adds an important and significant theorisation to the existing typologies, it engages less clearly with the ways that the police and other agencies respond to ASB. Many government groups, along with most housing associations and councils, still define ASB within the set of typologies highlighted in section 2.3². It is therefore important to think about ways that the existing typologies that are being widely used in narratives around ASB can be enhanced by bringing them together with Innes and Weston's (2010) work.

² Most councils and housing providers describe the behaviours that they typically regard as ASB and they most frequently map onto the typology given by the Home Office.

2.6 Towards a more contextualised understanding of ASB

There are important elements of both the typology developed by Millie et al., (2005) and the harm thesis developed by Innes and Weston (2010). While Millie et al's., (2005) work is useful for categorising the nature of ASB based on empirical data, it remains atheoretical and the behaviours listed lack a context. Innes and Weston's (2010) work does much to redress this; it is the first, and hitherto, the only attempt to conceptualise the nature of ASB and link the nature of ASB to the impact it causes to communities. Yet, this makes Innes and Weston's (2010) schema difficult for local authorities, housing associations and the police to implement, because it does not link as clearly to the individual forms of behaviour outlined by Millie et al., (2005).

In order to redress the critiques of both models, Figure 2.1 below brings both models together:

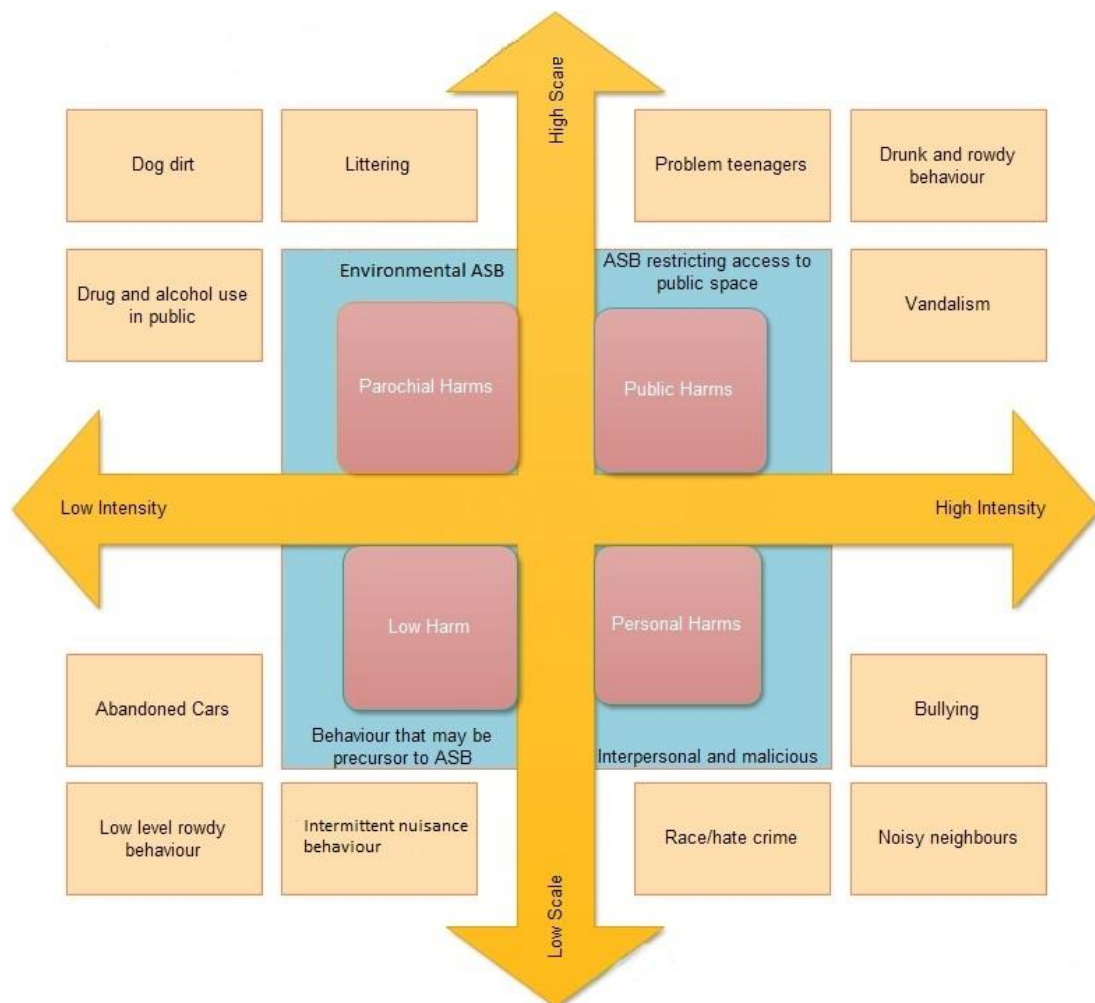


Figure 2.1: Conceptualising the nature and harm of ASB

Figure 2.1 maps Innes and Weston's (2010) harm thesis – the inner pink squares – onto Millie et al's., (2005) typology of ASB, represented by the blue squares. As Figure 2.1 shows, there is a large degree of overlap between the types of behaviour identified by Millie et al., (2005). The boxes round the edges highlight forms of ASB that would be categorised by Innes and Weston's (2010) in different forms of harm. Figure 2.1 therefore combines the theoretical and impact-related harm thesis with the practical applications illustrated in Millie et al's (2005) study. By bringing these two models together, the primary critiques of both can be minimised, with the harm thesis shown to have practical implications for the response agencies and the typologies being enhanced by the additional theoretical insight that the harm thesis gives.

Although this advancement is helpful for thinking about scale and the relationship between nature and impact, this model still lacks important contextual information. The rural context of this study is fully introduced in chapter three, whilst the remainder of this chapter explores the common explanations for the causes of ASB. Understanding the causes of ASB is important for understanding the harm that ASB creates in a community, which consequently allows for scale and context to be considered in relation to ASB.

2.7 Identifying common causes of ASB

With ASB encompassing a number of different typologies and being theorised in terms of the harm that it causes, it is unsurprising that there are a number of causes of ASB identified in the literature, encompassing individual, societal and environmental factors. Millie et al., (2005) identify three main categories that the principle causes of ASB fall into: ASB is getting worse because of loss of community and associated social and moral decline; ASB is getting worse because of an increasing disengagement from society of a significant number of youths, and, thirdly, a belief that bad parenting has created a generation of 'troubled youths'.

2.7.1 ASB and the community context

A central point in the ASB policy literature relates to the role that the community plays in relation to ASB, with literature examining the role that 'problem' communities and the ways that certain problematic individuals in the community are controlled under ASB legislation (Brown, 2013; Burney, 2002; Donoghue, 2011; Millie, 2008). As chapter one highlighted, the New Labour policy approach suggests

that ‘only by rebuilding cohesive communities and reforming the system to bear down harder on anti-social behaviour...will ASB be solved’ (Blair, 2003 cited in Burney, 2006: 62). The Respect Agenda also emphasises the collective nature of community, stating that it ‘seeks to empower individuals and communities, enabling them not just to feel secure but to be more able to act together to make their neighbourhoods safer and better’ (Home Office, 2006b: 3). The community level scale therefore is a significant unit of analysis in relation to ASB and both the cause and solution to ASB, with Skogan's (1990: 3) seminal study showing that a stable community is a key part of having a neighbourhood free from disorder.

Garland's (2001) work is important for highlighting the ways that the ‘culture of control’ has become embedded in the policy rhetoric around the causes of ASB. Not only has there been a shift in the way that communities are expected to respond to ASB, but also in the ways that they are increasingly required to ‘enhance civility and reinforce control’ (Carr, 2012: 398). Socio-economic deprivation is identified by New Labour as a key causal factor of ASB (Burney, 2009). Much of the thinking surrounding ‘problem neighbourhoods’ has developed from the communities literature (see, for example, Feinberg, 2009; Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974; Sampson and Groves, 1989; Herbert, 2006). This, as Burney (2009) notes, identifies families with poor-quality interactions and weak attachment to the social norms as the most likely to affect the quality of life in a location. In contrast, the middle classes are most likely to possess an active social life outside their neighbourhood and be more understanding of the processes involved in trying to solve neighbourhood disputes (Burney, 2009).

The notion of ‘problem’ neighbourhoods housing ‘problem’ families is tackled in the housing literature, with Flint (2006) noting that the character and allocation of social housing can occur for a number of different (mostly structural) reasons and this can have a strong influence on whether neighbourhoods are considered ‘problematic’ or not. Bursik (1988), however, notes that stability is the key to neighbourhood order, noting that disorder correlates strongly with instability. Indeed Keenan (1998) refers to the process of ‘churning’ where problem-families are shifted around within the same district and although Burney (2009) highlights a renewed emphasis on these groups of people by policy, Flint (2006) argues that problem neighbourhoods have always existed. There is less evidence of social housing and ‘problem

neighbourhoods’ in the remote rural case study in this project. Through the responsabilization of those in these communities, with policies such as the 2006 Respect Task Force, members of the community are seen as active agents capable of tackling ASB and responsible for ensuring that behaviour within communities was tolerable (Home Office, 2006a). A key part of this strategy involved tackling ASB amongst young people.

The community plays a key part in understanding the causes of ASB, as defined by various policy and academic literatures. As Carr (2012: 398) highlights, however, ‘relatively little attention has been paid to how communities produce a negotiated order’, with existing ASB literature tending to focus on individualistic causes of ASB. The community and neighbourhood unit of analysis is important, however, for understanding the scale of the impact of ASB. In rural locations, for instance, the community context is identified by Neal and Walters (2007) as often being both a site of spatial freedom *and* a site of regulation (Neal and Walters, 2007). With council and policing services frequently being located remotely to rural communities, those living within rural communities can be spatially excluded, with young people, in particular, being omitted from the decision making processes (Neal and Walters, 2007; Sibley, 2003). This is important in the context of this thesis, with ASB literature suggesting that disengagement can be an aggravating factor in the cause of ASB. Thus, understanding the impact of ASB at the community scale is important because relationality is an important feature of rural communities and because different rural contexts create environments in which different forms of ASB impact on different community members in different ways.

2.7.2 Young people and ASB

Tackling ASB caused by young people is closely linked to New Labour’s communitarian approach because strengthening community resilience is seen as a key way of instilling ‘respect’ in young people (Burney, 2006). In a survey carried out by Millie et al., (2005), participants were asked to identify the most prominent forms of ASB in their communities, with 27% of respondents noting ‘youth’ to be the main cause of ASB. As Brown (2013: 540) notes, Tony Blair draws a clear link between young people and ASB, saying ‘the scourge of so many communities are young people’; particularly young people who are in economically and socially deprived communities.

Indeed, young people have become so closely linked to the ASB agenda, that, as Brown (2013) notes, one of the key indicators on the British Crime Survey for measuring perceptions of anti-social behaviour is ‘teenagers hanging around on the street’. This ‘problematically conceptualises the *mere presence* of young people in public spaces as equating to an actual measure or instance of anti-social behaviour’ (Brown, 2013: 541 emphasis in original). Discourses of ASB often associate young people as a risk, yet commentators have begun to identify young people at risk rather than as risk.

2.7.2.1 Youth as risk or youth at risk?

As ASBOs and other forms of punitive methods of crime control gained traction in policy and media, the focus increasingly turned to the ‘problem’ of youth, with analysis of key policy developments showing how ‘youth’ have become synonymous with ASB. Perhaps the most obvious manifestation of this was in the change of Labour leadership in 2007, when Gordon Brown became Prime Minister. When Brown took office, much of the Government’s work on ASB was transferred to the youth taskforce, established at the Department for Children, Schools and Families. The Youth Taskforce Action Plan, launched in 2008, stated Gordon Brown’s position very clearly:

‘A strong society demands that where individuals – including young people - overstep the boundaries of acceptable behaviour, they are made to face up to their responsibilities. Tackling the causes of bad behaviour helps to ensure lasting change’ (Department for children school and families, 2008)

Thus, the responsabilization strategy and culture of control that Garland (2001) highlights as apparent in the broader community responses to crime and disorder, is also evident in the shift of policy in relation to young people, whilst the title ‘Youth Taskforce’ highlights a renewed emphasis on young people. The Youth Crime Commission report published in June 2010 noted that the idea that youth are the primary cause of ASB needs to be challenged and suggests the key principles of prevention, restoration and integration should be the guiding principles of future policies (Independent Commission for Youth Crime and Anti-social Behaviour, 2010). Yet ASB policy remains fundamentally focused on ‘problem youth’ (Brown, 2013), something which the academic literature critiques (Flint and Nixon, 2006; Prior, 2009)

The Social Exclusion Unit examined some of the causal factors linking young people and ASB and it found that:

‘[F]or a significant minority of young people, disproportionately concentrated in the poorest areas: family life is characterised by disrupted relationships, poverty and worklessness; education provision does not meet their needs; their way of life lacks stimulation, enjoyment and challenge; they face serious health issues and are prone to problem behaviours; they find it difficult to get a decent place to live or money to live on; they are far too likely to be victims of crime or to offend against others’ (Burney, 2009:73).

This quote reinforces the point that the Government see the causes of ASB as being both a function of community breakdown more broadly and individual family circumstances (Parr and Nixon, 2008). However, Millie (2009, 2008), Burney (2009, 2002), Brown (2013) and others argue that this view is simplistic and instead of considering ‘youth’ categorically as a problem, the underlying causes of ‘problem youth’ need to be considered.

The question therefore becomes less about the individual *as risk* but young people as *at risk*. As Brown (2013: 541) notes, there are two key ideas to emerge in relation to young people and public space; on the one hand young people are highlighted as a group who pose a threat to public space, whilst on the other they are portrayed as vulnerable and in need of protection. Ironically, often the threat that young people feel from hanging out in public spaces and parks, from both other young people, the police and other enforcement agencies, is what drives young people to hang about in groups. In contrast to the commonly held assumption ASB simply reflects intergenerational tensions, research by Innes and Weston (2010) notes that young people are just as likely to identify ASB as a problem as older individuals. Statistically, young people are more likely to be a victim of ASB than the perpetrators of ASB and it is therefore important to think about whether young people should be consider as *a risk* or *at risk*. Drawing on evidence from Australia, Hughes (2011) argues that by identifying young people at risk from ASB, the demonization of young people is less apparent. The inherent vulnerability of young people can then be addressed in a pragmatic way (Brown, 2013; Hughes, 2011).

ASB associated with young people predominantly occurs in spaces accessed by the public, particularly parks and town squares. The past two decades has witnessed a large upsurge in the literature exploring the geographies of young people, and thinking of young people as active agents rather than individuals who need protected or individuals who are a risk to society (Ansell, 2009; Matthews and Limb, 1999; Matthews et al., 2000). In the past, young people have frequently been ‘designed out’ of public space ‘disregarding young people’s claims towards visibility in central public spaces’ (Horschelmann and van Blerk, 2012: 159). In contrast to the literature on ASB, the existing literature on young people tends to be embedded within the context in which they are being studied. The growing body of knowledge around the importance of considering young people as active agents, able to participate in decision making within the community, argues that it increases people’s sense of belonging and responsibility and therefore allows a ‘better response to the needs and interests of young people’ (Horschelmann & van Blerk, 2012: 184). As chapter four notes, this project aimed to engage young people in the research project, with participatory activities in focus groups.

There is a tension therefore between the ASB literature, which tends to focus on the ways that young people are stereotyped as ‘troubled youths’, and the broader children and youth literature, which tends to focus on the agency and ability of young people to be active citizens within society. Although youth as risk/youth at risk is a useful way of conceptualising the binary that commonly exists in relation to young people and ASB, the reality is that often young people in public space are neither at risk or a risk, but are just ‘hanging out’. This is often an innocent situation, but because young people ‘mostly live their lives within the warps and wefts of the striations of adult space’ (Jones, 2000: 43), often the only space that they can ‘hang-out’ within are visible public spaces. This thesis will expand on this binary, suggesting that it is important to understand the agency of young people when trying to understand and respond to ASB. Relationality is also a key part of the rural environment that is missing from the current ASB literature, an environment where many young people are known to members of the community and vice-versa can be helpful in breaking down the youth at/as risk binary (Kraack and Kenway, 2002).

2.7.3 ASB caused by bad parenting?

Relationality within families is also an important factor in identifying the cause of ASB. A survey conducted by Millie et al. in 2005 highlighted that 68% of respondents believed that poor parenting is the main cause of youth ASB. In particular, local authorities are keen to stress the role of 'good parenting' in improving the behaviour of 'unruly youth' (Koffman, 2008). A number of programmes have been introduced in order that good parenting can be promoted, including parenting contracts which are a written agreement between the relevant agency and the young person's parent and is utilised to secure an improvement in behaviour of the young person (Koffman, 2008; Parr, 2009). Indeed, the Government posits a direct relationship between dysfunctional families and ASB, claiming that such behaviour is both 'a lack of respect or consideration for other people', and a 'refusal to take responsibility' for one's own conduct' (Koffman, 2008: 118).

According to the Government, it is the parent's responsibility to instil the moral sense of right and wrong and a respect for others, within their children (Koffman, 2008; Nixon et al., 2010). Indeed, Koffman (2008: 119) argues that the judgement of whether this 'moral instruction' has been successful or not is whether children commit ASB and other criminal activity. The flaw, as he sees it, is that 'from assertions of responsibility to the imposition of punitive measures [...] the concept of responsibility is problematic' (*ibid.*). New Labour, it appears, used the term in a rhetorical, politically motivated way, rather than outlining the legal responsibility parents have for the behaviour of their children. In Parr's (2010) work, she argues that there is a lack of close examination of the problems parents face when dealing with disobedient children, with support mechanisms lacking in many communities. The 'blame the parents' discourse in relation to the cause of ASB is intertwined with notions of vulnerability (Carr, 2010), yet Parr (2010: 6) also highlights that, although poor parenting skills can be associated with 'offending' behaviour, this should not automatically lead to blaming the parents in a 'reductionist and oversimplified' manner. There is a large literature which argues that young people have agency and the ability to make decisions independent of parental guidance (Ansell, 2009; Matthews and Limb, 1999; van Blerk et al., 2009), meaning that a simple causal relationship between bad parenting and ASB is overly simplistic.

As earlier sections in this review have alluded, structural disadvantage often plays a part in young people's involvement with ASB, with individual pathologies – school exclusion, local disorder, poor parental relationships - not being tackled appropriately (Nixon et al., 2010). Thus, understanding the causes behind ASB is a complicated task which has multiple contributing factors. In much the same way that the nature of ASB is complex, the causes of ASB is also multi-faceted and multi-factorial. The context in which ASB occurs becomes a key part of understanding ASB more generally. Scholars in the field (for example Carr, 2010; Koffman, 2008; Millie, 2009; Parr, 2010) argue that there are a complex series of underlying issues which are responsible for ASB. This thesis explores the causes of ASB within the broader context of rural Scotland, thinking about the way that these causes interact. As Jacobson et al., (2008) and others note, the multifactorial complexity of ASB is often missing from ASB research. There have been two clear tranches in the development of responses to ASB – sovereign state responses and a shift to responsabilization. The final section of this review will use Garland's 'shifting culture of control' framework to examine the structure of the predominant response mechanisms to ASB.

2.8 Responding to ASB: A shifting culture of control?

Although geography can provide many useful insights into ASB, particularly in relation to the spatiality, context and temporality of response mechanisms to ASB, it is the sociologist David Garland who developed a prominent thesis and conceptual framework from which both the policing responses to ASB and broader non-policing responses can be analysed. Garland developed his influential 'culture of control' thesis (Garland, 2001) as the culmination of his examination of changes in the sovereign state and governmentality (Garland, 1996) and influence of cultural adaption around social structures and cultural sensibilities (Garland, 2000). This section explores in greater detail the themes of his argument and explains why his work has been influential in framing debates about responses to ASB.

Garland's (1996) work focuses on the change in action of the British and American Governments through the development of policy aimed at tackling high crime rates. High crime rates have, Garland (1996) argues, become a 'normal social fact in Britain' to the point that 'the threat of crime has become a routine part of modern consciousness' (Garland, 1996: 446). The 'limit of the sovereign state' discourse

highlights the tensions that exist between the state trying to assert its sovereign dominance, whilst acknowledging that the state's 'monopoly of crime control' is no longer true (Garland, 2001, 1996). This is important for thinking about the response to ASB, because there has been a shift from the 'sovereign state' strategies to 'adaptive strategies' in the way that the response to ASB is structured.

2.8.1 Sovereign state strategies for tackling ASB

Garland (1996) notes that 'sovereign state strategies' and 'adaptive strategies' were introduced as a way of combatting the limitations of the state. Adaptive strategies largely deal with the emergence of the responsabilization agenda, a core part of the state's response to ASB, by encouraging non-state agencies and organisations to take both responsibility for reducing ASB through the 'low-key efforts to build up the internal controls of neighbourhoods and to encourage communities to police themselves' (Garland, 2001: 17). The responsabilization of communities is explored in the next section of the review.

Importantly, Garland (2001) is keen to highlight that this shift to responsabilization is not a retreat of the sovereign state from crime control. The 'myth of the sovereign state' (Garland, 1996: 449) means that ASB, amongst other offences, has been subject to intensive modes of regulation, policing and punishment. As Garland summarises it, current trends suggest:

'[the loss of] one of the foundation myths of modern societies: namely, the myth that the sovereign state is capable of providing security, law and order, and crime control within its territorial boundaries. This challenge to the state's law and order mythology is all the more effective, and all the more undeniable, because it occurs at a time when the wider notion of 'state sovereignty' is already under attack on a number of fronts' (Garland, 1996: 448)

The impotence of the nation state in relation to crime control, however, is not a sign of the state passing responsibility on, because ultimately the partnerships instigating ASB response at the local level require the state's knowledge and resources. Finding a 'solution' to ASB therefore requires the coordination of a number of services and organisations who are informed by Government policy on which solution(s) appear best suited to tackling the problem of ASB. As Yarwood (2007) and Johnson (1999) highlight, the emphasis of public, private and voluntary sectors in decision-making are illustrative of Blair's 'third-way', creating localised policy implementation and a

distinct geography to the types of preventative measures utilised. In relation to the sovereign state response to ASB, a long list of punitive measures were introduced to tackle ASB, including Anti-Social Behaviour Orders (ASBOs) and zero-tolerance for things like drinking in the street.

As Garland (2001: 142) highlights, ‘policy measures are constructed in ways that privilege public opinion over the views of criminal justice experts and professional elites’ and this strategy now ‘purports to give a privileged place to victims’. This is highlighted in the key rationales for responding to ASB, where public opinion and the victims of ASB are central. Drawing on much of the work surrounding civility and the need to increase the ‘livability’ of neighbourhoods, Millie (2009) highlights five key rationales which explain why ASB needs to be tackled: ASB is an inherently bad thing; ASB needs to be tackled in order to regenerate urban environments; ASB needs to be tackled in order to prevent further disorder (broken windows thesis), which links to much of New Labour’s ASB policy rhetoric; tackling ASB is important to improve failing communities and lastly and, somewhat cynically, that tackling ASB benefits the agencies involved with tackling ASB.

There are a number of sovereign state responses to ASB, the most common of which is the ASBO. Although extensively critiqued in the literature (see Brown, 2004; Burney, 2009, 2008; Jacobson et al., 2005; Millie, 2009), they have been utilised widely across the UK. They can be granted if it appears to the authority that the following conditions are fulfilled with respect to any person aged 10 in or over in England and Wales (12 in Scotland): namely, that the person has acted in an anti-social manner, that is to say, in a manner that caused or was likely to cause harassment, alarm or distress to one or more persons not of the same household as himself; and that such an order is necessary to protect persons (Home Office, 1999). Interim ASBOs can also be granted as a way of stemming the ASB more quickly (Squires and Stephen, 2005). A number of other enforcement led state alternatives are available to utilise in response to ASB, including parenting orders, dispersal orders and fixed penalty notices. In total, there are nineteen different powers that can be utilised, divided between people, places and police powers. Recent changes in government policy has witnessed a shift away from the New Labour suite of measures to a more streamlined five measures (see Figure 2.2) (Home Office, 2011), in part because the use of ASBOs has declined in recent years, down from 4122 in

2005 to 1664 in 2010 in England and Wales and none currently in place in the case study locations in Scotland (Home Office, 2011; Reid, 2011).

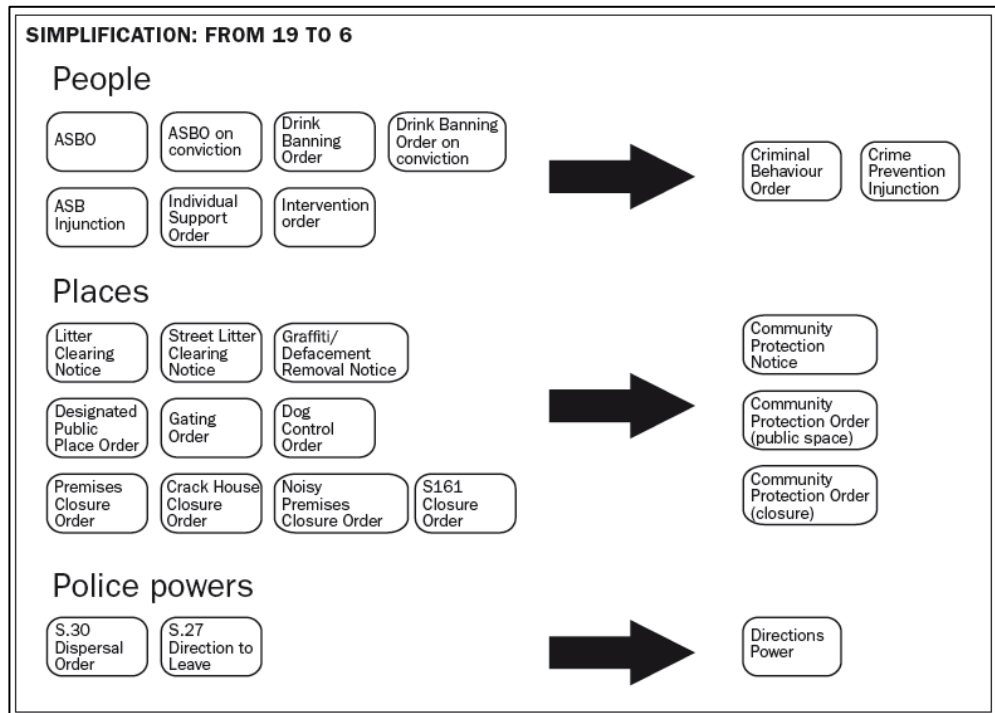


Figure 2.2: Proposed changes to ASB legislation (Home Office, 2011)

As Figure 2.2 highlights, the proposed new responses to ASB are fundamentally geographic, splitting powers into ‘people, places and police powers’. A central critique of Garland’s thesis is that it takes a largely decontextualized look at the structural impacts of Government responses to crime and control. This thesis therefore, aims to provide that contextual examination of ASB. In contrast to much of the existing literature, this study focuses on the broader social and situational contexts that form the basis of the response to ASB in rural Scotland. As Garland (2001) and Herbert (1999) note, the punitive elements of state control only form part of the response to crime and ASB, with ‘adaptive strategies’ emerging as a way to combat the limitations of the state with the emphasis on stressing prevention through ‘responsibilization’.

2.8.2 Responsibilization as a response mechanism

The ‘responsibilization strategy’ is the way in which the central government seeks to act upon crime in an indirect fashion, seeking to involve non-state actors, communities and other third sector agencies in the process of controlling ASB (Garland, 1996). As Garland (1996: 452) notes, the use of phrases such as

‘partnership’, ‘inter-agency corporation’, ‘the multi-agency approach’, activating communities’, creating ‘active citizens’[...] its primary concern is to devolve responsibility for crime prevention on to agencies, organizations and individuals which are quite outside the state and to persuade them to act appropriately’. These strategies seek to work through civil society rather than upon it, where a new crime control infrastructure has emerged.

Interestingly, Herbert (1999) argues that, despite the weakening of state power which the development of the responsabilization thesis represents, ‘none seriously corrode state authority’ and, if anything, actually point to an ‘intensification of state power’ (Herbert, 1999: 152). Garland (1997) argues that higher crime rates and the inadequate state response have led to many citizens assuming primary responsibility for their own security (Herbert, 1999). As Yarwood and Edwards (1995) note, this extends to neighbourhood watches, community councils and other informal groups, which can respond to ASB in a localised and less formalised manner, ‘embedding controls in the fabric of normal interactions, rather than suspend them above it in the form of sovereign command’ (Garland, 1996: 451).

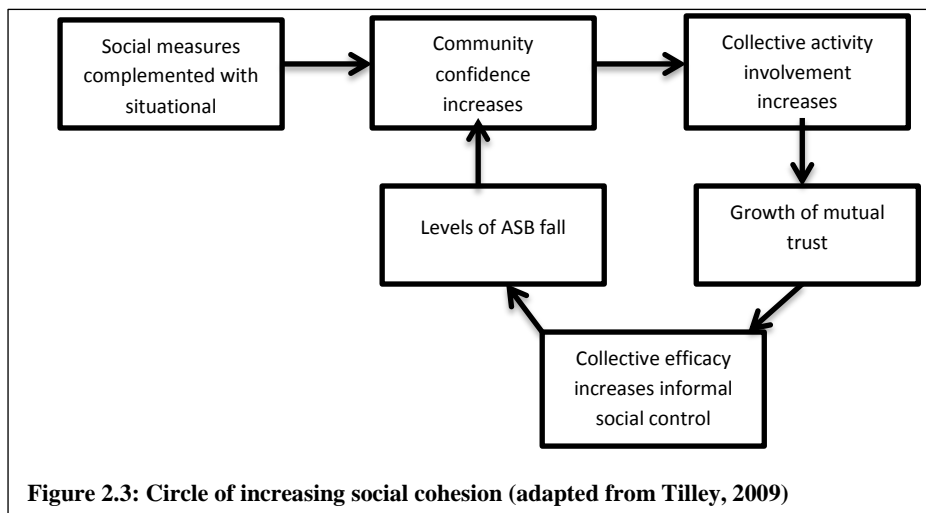
In relation to ASB policy, there has been a shift away from the sovereign state as the response to ASB, towards community based responses. Community policing is a clear illustration of this, where ‘the state ostensibly surrendering exclusive authority over crime control’ (Herbert, 1999: 154). Although a contested term (Mackenzie and Henry, 2009), community policing has been theorised in terms of an acknowledgement that police performance would be improved if community-police relations were improved (Skogan, 1990). This ‘co-production’, where the police and community are meant to be equal partners, producing targets for the given community together, ‘exemplifies an admission that the state needs to surrender sovereign authority over crime control’ (Herbert, 1999: 154). However, the reality is that co-production has remained an elusive aim (Mackenzie and Henry, 2009; Skogan and Roth, 2004), with Herbert (1999: 154) claiming the community have become ‘in effect auxiliary police officers’, seeking to use community members as intelligence gatherers. This, it is claimed, represents more of an intensification rather than a dilution of police power (Herbert, 1999: 154) and where ‘citizen groups within a given neighbourhood are not of a like mind, police officers tend to work more closely with those who share the officer’s agenda.

Community policing, although critiqued, has helped deliver a local response to ASB in rural locations (Yarwood, 2011). Community policing is only one part of the responsabilization agenda in relation to the response to ASB, with ASB policy framing a number of interventions in terms of responsabilization. Inherently, however, to understand fully how the responsabilization agenda has impacted on the way that ASB is responded to, the context of the community needs to be considered. As Tilley (2009) notes, controlling crime and ASB is fundamentally a social process, with informal social controls on potential offenders operating at a variety of levels from families, peer groups, schools and neighbourhoods. As the governance of ASB has been diffused out from the centre and more agencies, partnerships and individual community groups have become involved in the culture of control, complex dynamics of prevention have formed (Garland, 2001; Gilling, 2010; Tilley, 2009). As Peck (2011: 1) notes ‘policy making processes have spilled over vertically’, meaning that communities and individuals are more than ever being tasked with tackling ASB from a social, community based level. In rural areas in particular, where local authority services are available less frequently, community engagement forms a key part of the response to ASB. In particular, responses to ASB are coordinated through community planning and safety partnerships, which act at a local level and engage with community groups to provide ASB response (Henry, 2009). There are critiques of this localised responsabilization agenda in relation to the social responses to ASB; notably, that areas which have low crime rates but high levels of fear of crime require a disproportionate amount of resource input to the detriment of areas which have higher crime rates but communities which are less organised and able to mobilise the resources required to tackle the problems (Tilley, 2009).

Youth workers and family intervention programmes typify the shift from sovereign state strategies to a responsabilization approach, engaging with the young people deemed most ‘at risk’ and providing a long term, intensive support. As Hughes and Rowe (2007: 323) acknowledge, the nature and shift of the culture of control to localised individuals means it is ‘nigh impossible to accurately measure’ the exact role that all the actors and inter-meshed local policing, crime control and community safety groups in preventing ASB. Yet, youth workers are an established group of workers with a clear remit in providing the long term social input into communities

(Scottish Government, 2010a). They understand the local context and local scale of ASB. As the Government highlight in their ASB strategy, youth workers should form a key part of the local response to the ASB, hailing successful examples of where youth workers have been involved in identifying young ‘at risk’ of committing ASB (Scottish Government, 2010a, annex C). Existing literature around ASB acknowledges the role that partnership working plays in responding to ASB, however, this project identifies the vital role that youth workers play in responding to ASB in rural communities (see section 8.2).

Using the social mechanisms and working at a local level, utilising additional situational mechanisms, social cohesion in communities can be increased and, importantly, maintained, further reducing ASB (Sampson, 1988; Tilley, 2009). This is highlighted in Figure 2.3 below:



This figure highlights the importance of a localised, social response and rejects the sovereign state as the central response mechanism to ASB. However, not all ASB stems from ‘root causes’ that can be tackled through these social responsabilization mechanisms – some ASB is not down to social structure, genetic makeup or disadvantaged social conditions. Rather there are occasions where ASB occurs because of opportunistic behaviour, often as a result of alcohol or drugs (Tilley, 2009). These situations are tackled predominantly through situational crime prevention, sovereign state intervention, which focuses on modifying the immediate

conditions in which a crime is committed. It is concerned with ‘pre-empting crime events by removing or reducing opportunities’ to commit crime (Tilley, 2009: 103).

The state response to ASB is therefore made up of a complex interweaving of sovereign state responses to ASB and a shift to a predominantly localised responsabilization strategy. ASB response is therefore impacted by the local geography - the local groups, local relationships and local policy implementation. In addition, the process is not monolithic or unchanging – police agencies, local community groups and councils are internally divided and ‘convulse with a complicated internal politics’ (Herbert, 1999: 167). In addition, policy implementation and the degree to which the prevention/intervention strands of response to ASB are emphasised over sovereign state normative responses varies depending on the local politics. The next section explores the Scottish context and local geographies in relation to responding to ASB.

2.8.3 Responding to ASB in Scotland: A different context

Much of the discussion thus far has related to ASB on a broader scale, linking ASB policy, mainly in England and Wales, to some of the broader preventative mechanisms introduced by Westminster – largely because of the relative dearth of literature exploring ASB in the Scottish context. The majority of the discussion is relevant to the Scottish ASB context, because despite having responsibility for its own criminal justice policy through devolved power, most of New Labour’s anti-social behaviour agenda has been adopted north of the border (Burney, 2009). However, since 2007 Scotland has had a Scottish Nationalist Government, which has implemented and emphasised an increasingly different strategy in relation to ASB prevention than the Government in Westminster – in effect embracing localised responsabilization to a greater degree than England and Wales. The Scottish model of prevention has its roots in the Kilbrandon committee review, which was set up in 1960, and concluded that ‘youth justice stressed early and minimal intervention avoiding stigmatisation through criminalisation, with an emphasis on the needs of children rather than their (mis)deeds’ (Crawford and Lister, 2007: 11). The system of children’s hearing panels, introduced some years after the publication of the report, encapsulates this philosophy (Burney, 2009).

Although 2007 also marked the introduction of Gordon Brown's ASB agenda in England and Wales which had a greater emphasis on prevention and support, Alex Salmond's 2009 Scottish ASB reforms went much further than those in England and Wales (Casey and Flint, 2008). There are clear legal differences between the way ASB laws have been introduced in England and Wales and Scotland - for instance the minimum age at which an ASBO can be given is 12 in Scotland, whereas in England and Wales it is 10. With a number of tragic cases of ASB where a vulnerable adult has died as a result of ASB, notably Fiona Pilkington, there have been clear switches in the way that ASB is tackled. Multi-agency partnership and community safety forums aim to 'put victims first'. In Scotland, this has been at the heart of much of the recent ASB development relating to the police, indeed in the force that this study was conducted, a repeat caller initiative was introduced as a way of identifying those being repeatedly targeted and at risk from ASB. Thus, despite the introduction of many of the punitive elements of English and Welsh policy development, the Scottish ASB model, particularly in the last five years, has encompassed prevention and partnership working at its heart.

The election of the SNP minority government in 2007 underlined the Scottish emphasis on prevention and support in relation to tackling ASB. The 'Working Together to Prevent Anti-social Behaviour in Scotland' document emphasises the importance of prevention, integration, engagement and communication in ASB strategy, with the P.I.E.R (Prevention, Intervention, Enforcement and Rehabilitation) model underlining the importance of creating interventions for those considered specifically at risk of committing ASB (Scottish Government, 2009a). Partnership working and schemes such as the Family Intervention Projects (FIPs) reflect these aims by tackling 'drink, drugs and a lack of respect' at the root cause through the 'building of resilience, education on responsibilities, a focus on parenting, diversionary activities and improvements to the physical environment' (Scottish Government, 2009b: 20). Although enforcement and sovereign state intervention is a key part of the strategy, the policy documents the need for a proportionate response. Indeed, it is stated that 'ASBOs work a lot better if you address the support needs as part of the process...support and enforcement go hand in hand...if you just do the enforcement, you really are fighting with one hand tied behind your back' (Scottish Government, 2009b: 21).

McAra and McVie (2010: 183) note that this strategy marks a third phase of youth justice in Scotland, which is ‘underpinned by an uneasy mixture of welfarist, actuarialist and retributive impulses’. This third phase, McAra and McVie (2010: 183) argue, reflects a tension between ‘universal, holistic services aimed at promoting child well-being and explicitly situating the youth crime agenda within the framework of education and health’. This, in combination with a focus on responsabilization of young people and their families, means that there is a shift from the ‘offender’ and ‘failing parents’ rhetoric of recent years, replaced by the ‘at-risk’ child and the ‘at-risk’ family (McAra and McVie, 2010).

The election of a majority SNP Government in 2011 in Scotland has accelerated the divergence in ASB policy away from the increasingly punitive policies of the coalition Government in England and Wales. As Reid (2011) notes, ASBOs are being used less and less in favour of a more preventative approach. With ASBOs becoming a less central part of the Government’s response to ASB, social measures and mechanisms begin to form a more central role in local government and policing response to ASB. In addition to the structural shift, the national ASB policy in Scotland highlights the importance of the political context as well as the clear geography to the enforcement of ASB, both at a national level and a local level. In a debate in the Scottish Parliament on December the 16th 2010, young people in the rural sphere were identified as being particularly at risk of ASB. Mike Pringle (Liberal Democrat, Edinburgh South) noted that ‘young people in rural areas are identified as among the most vulnerable in Scotland, simply because of the lack of ready opportunities available to them locally – all too often, sadly, that leads to problems of ASB’ (p21). This chimes with themes that emerge in this thesis where, despite less ASB in rural locations, the ‘deprived rural’ creates complications for service delivery in rural locations (Gilling, 2011).

Having outlined the significant literature examining the nature and impact of ASB, the rural context of this thesis will now be explored. Much of the discussion to this point underlines the relative decontextualized nature of existing ASB studies. This thesis argues that the rural context is a key element of the Scottish ASB landscape, both in the way that the nature and causes of, and responses to, ASB are structured. The final part of this chapter introduces the rural context in relation to these three themes, whilst chapter three explores the rural literature in more depth.

2.9 Introduction to the rural context

A key aspect of rural environments relates to the fact that there is less ASB in rural locations. There is less crime in rural areas, with ASB and other measures around the perception of safety indicating that people living in remote rural and accessibly rural locations of Scotland generally experience less ASB. As Table 2.2 highlights, those located in accessible rural and remote rural locations, stating percentage of ASB is very or fairly common, is less than in urban contexts:

Adults, % very or fairly common	Large urban areas	Other urban areas	Accessible small towns	Remote small towns	Accessible rural	Remote rural	Scotland
General ASB							
Vandalism/ graffiti/dam age to property	16	10	8	5	6	3	11
Groups or individual harassing others	10	10	6	5	4	3	8
Drug misuse or dealing	13	13	13	9	6	5	12
Rowdy behaviour	18	16	11	10	6	4	14
Neighbour Problem							
Noisy neighbours/ loud parties	14	10	8	9	4	3	10
Neighbour disputes	6	6	5	3	3	3	6
Rubbish and fouling							
Rubbish or litter lying around	31	25	23	20	14	10	25
Animal nuisance such as noise or dog fouling	29	26	28	23	20	15	26
Vehicle							
Abandoned or bunt out vehicles	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Base	3930	3400	1020	630	1250	1060	11280

Table 2.2: Perception of prevalence of neighbourhood problems by 2012 urban/rural classification
(Source SHS, 2012)

Despite ASB being reported in higher prevalence in urban areas, it is important to examine the role that ASB plays in the rural environment – not only because ASB is underreported (Millie, 2009), but also because the rural environment is a challenging place to respond to ASB because as in the examples of the two case study locations, the police are often located remotely to the communities that they police in rural locations (Yarwood and Mawby, 2011). Although there are fewer incidences of ASB in rural areas in Scotland, the harm and impact of ASB on rural communities can be as great as in urban locations. In part, this is because of the scale of rural communities, which when combined with expectations rural living, means that ASB frequently antagonises people in rural communities as much as it does in urban locations.

The theoretical context relating to the rural is explored in detail in the first part of chapter three. However, it is useful to outline the role that rural community has in terms of responding to ASB, and, in particular, the tension between being watched – the responsabilization of individuals within communities – and the rural as a place of freedom. Neal and Walters (2007: 255) link rural social order to Foucault's concept of the panopticon, with rural communities being identified as having 'messier' narratives of neighbourliness, caring and security being reinforced by processes of 'watching over, valuing being watched over and watching out for'. These processes, which are highlighted as creating 'strong rural community,' are juxtaposed by Neal and Walters (2007), with notions of social, cultural and socio-legal freedom. The contested boundaries of a socially constructed, orderly, Foucauldian-panopticon type rural community and those who construct the countryside as locations which are free from socio-legal norms and places of anti-order is important when considering debates about rural ASB (Neal and Walters, 2007).

This latter group were mainly respondents from the Young Farmers Club and therefore in a younger age bracket (Neal and Walters, 2007). Anderson's (1997) work examining crime in rural Scotland highlights 'young people' as a key group for 'petty vandalism and other low level crime'. Although this would be considered ASB in relation to the typologies discussed earlier, the report does not refer to ASB directly. In addition, the report highlights a link between local 'rogues' and 'incomers' – people who see the countryside as a place of anti-order and free from

the watchful eye of the law (if not the locals) (Anderson, 1997). It is therefore clear that the everyday lives of those living in rural spaces in combination with the way that the rural is represented, present different challenges in relation to the nature and causes of ASB. The assumption that rural communities are analogous with an increased ability to embrace the responsabilization agenda should also be challenged; Gilling (2011) notes that there is a ‘deprived’, ‘endangered’ and ‘frightened’ countryside which needs to be considered when responding to crime and disorder. Perceptions of the rural are explored in more depth in the next chapter.

The geography of rural locations – the general lack of service provision located within communities – presents challenges for those tasked with responding to ASB. The rural provides a sharp lens through which to examine the balance between the sovereign state and the responsabilization agenda, particularly because, in rural communities there is frequently a reliance on local community members to be the ‘eyes and ears’ of the police (Herbert, 1999; Neal and Walters, 2008). There are, importantly, different types of rural which impact on the nature and impact of and responses to ASB – something which chapter three explores in depth.

2.10 Conclusion

There is a burgeoning literature on the subject of ASB, with numerous and diverse contributions from across a spectrum of academic fields. Commonly, however, these studies underplay the importance of the context in which the ASB occurs and the impact this has on the nature and impact of, and responses to, ASB. It is also apparent that there are areas of the literature which are under-researched, for example, examining the nature and impact of ASB in rural Scotland and the response of the police and partnership agencies to the challenges of ASB. The literature shows that ASB is poorly defined and many attempts have been made to try to characterise behaviours which should be classed as ASB. However, this tends to neglect the impact of ASB on community and these definitions have become increasingly complex and complicated. In addition, the formalised policing mechanisms used to target and prevent ASB, although widely used in other contexts, are not very widely used in rural Scotland. Understanding the context, temporality and spatiality of ASB is therefore important, with recognition that there is no ‘one-size-fits-all’ response mechanism to ASB.

This thesis addresses what has hitherto been a gap in the literature which links Innes's concepts of harm and signal crimes with Garland's work on the culture of control. Whilst Garland's work is helpful for exploring the structural, broad concepts, it lacks specific contextual reference points. As Garland (2001: 21) notes, 'the general analysis that I develop is not a substitute for more detailed case-studies [...] it is instead a supplement to such studies that seek to view individual elements in the context of their interaction', something that this study does by bringing together the macro-scale conceptual framework of Garland, with the micro-scale analysis of Innes and Weston and Millie. The examination of the responses, together with analysis of the nature and impact of ASB in rural Scotland, enables the importance of the local context to be examined nested within the broader structural changes identified by Garland.

The rural context is crucial, and the next chapter explores the literature on rural space and how this impacts on ASB. The literature in this chapter helps frame the research questions laid out in chapter three, which are based around understanding the nature and impact of and responses to ASB in rural contexts. The amount and diversity of the literature in the ASB field highlights a rapidly evolving discourse, making this an extremely relevant time to examine ASB. Examining ASB in rural Scotland helps shed light on this changing discourse in a context in which it has yet to be explored.

3 Conceptualising ASB in rural Scotland: Challenging the rural idyll

3.1 Introduction

Having explored the literature which examines the nature and impact of, and responses to ASB, this chapter explores ASB in the rural context, focusing on challenging representations of the rural idyll. As has been argued, the context in which ASB occurs is important for analysing it and is something which most of the literature has thus far neglected. This chapter therefore focuses on providing the context required to analyse ASB in rural Scotland. The thrust of this chapter is exploring the dominant narratives that have been developed around ‘the rural’. The chapter begins by exploring the ways in which young people experience the rural, and in particular, notes the dominant rural idyll narratives. Other conceptualisations of rural spaces are then explored, representations which challenge the idyll narrative, a narrative that is still dominant in parts of rural Scotland. The last part of the chapter summarises the literature from chapters one, two and three and identifies where the research questions and overall narrative of the thesis have developed.

3.2 ASB and the rural context

Challenging the concept of the rural idyll is a key narrative for framing the debates related to ASB in rural locations. However, representations of the rural only make up one aspect of the totality of rural space. As Woods (2010) argues, rural representations are developed through the staging of different performances; both in the ways that the rural is represented for tourists and visitors through representations in text and performance, and as Woods (2010: 837) highlights, in the ‘less-staged manner in the everyday inactions of people who live and/or work in the countryside’. This everyday enaction, ‘performance’ and routines of those in both communities play a large part in the lived experience of all those living and working in rural communities (Halfacree, 2006). In order to understand the nature and impact of, and responses to, ASB, it is important to take account of the totality of rural space.

Halfacree (2006) suggests a three-fold model of rural space which has three facets – rural localities, formal representations of the rural and everyday lives of the rural:

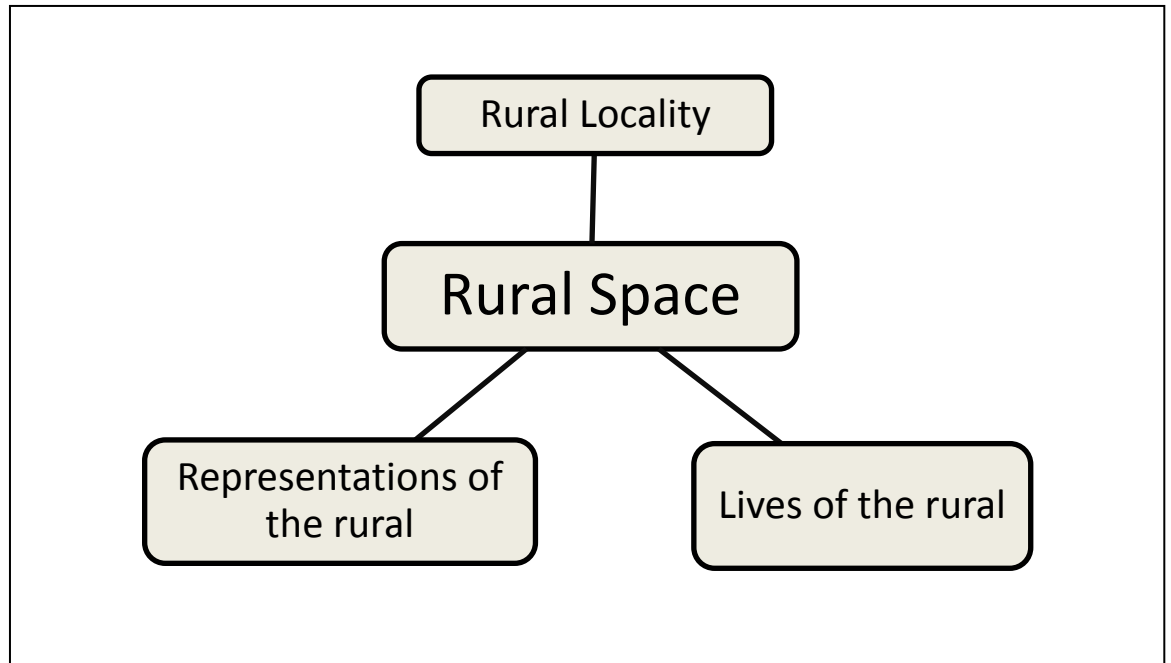


Figure 3.1: The totality of rural space (Halfacree, 2006)

This three-fold model is based on Lefebvre's understanding of spatiality, where spatial practices, representations of space and spaces of representations combine to form three-part dialectic where space is perceived, conceived and lived. The three aspects of rural space outlined by Halfacree (2006) (see Figure 3.1) are the rural localities, formal representations of the rural and everyday lives of the rural. This model provides a useful basis for examining and conceptualising rural space and how ASB varies across rural space in Scotland. This chapter will argue that in order to understand the nature and causes of ASB, we need to understand the complex interactions of the individual lives of those in rural locations and the rural locality, the context that the ASB takes place within. Indeed, Yarwood and Mawby (2011) note that Halfacree's three way dialectic is important for understanding and interrogating 'the complex interweaving of power relations, social conventions, discursive practices and institutional forces that are constantly combining and recombining in rural places' (Yarwood and Mawby, 2011: 219).

The rural locality is important for understanding the way that ASB creates harm and the impact that this has upon those living in rural locations. Despite ASB being reported in higher prevalence in urban areas, it is important to examine the role that ASB plays in the rural environment – not only because ASB is underreported (Millie, 2009), but also because there are still significant amounts of ASB in the

rural environment and it can be a challenging place in which to respond to ASB (Yarwood and Mawby, 2011). Indeed, as the figures in Table 2.2 highlight, issues such as vandalism, harassment, neighbourhood issues and animal problems are significant problems in both accessibly and remote rural locations. Although there are fewer incidences of ASB, overall in rural areas in Scotland, the harm and impact of ASB on rural communities can be as great as in urban locations.

The locality is also shaped by the shift in the culture of control (Garland, 2001), which despite being urban focused, provides a framework for linking together the ways that the unique physical and structural challenges inherent in the rural are important for unpacking the multifaceted responses to ASB. In relation to representation, the rural is often characterised with depictions of the idyll (Short, 2006). As the next sections explore, this can be a problematic representation of the rural, with many people experiencing other types of ‘rural’ (Gilling, 2010). Indeed, it is vital that acknowledgement is given to the fact that imaginations of the rural are complex, contested and dynamic. ASB is temporally and spatially specific, thus an acknowledgment of the ‘changing social context of the countryside’ is an important part of understanding the nature and impact of ASB in rural environments (Yarwood and Mawby, 2011). Moreover, the everyday lives of those in rural locations is vital for contextualising ASB and understanding the ways that the responsabilization agenda is implemented across rural space. The everyday lives of individuals combined with representations of the rural that community members (re)enact, including forms of the idyll, mean that the responsabilization agenda (explored in chapter two) is in evidence in some rural locations. In particular, local partnerships, community groups and government are more embedded within certain parts of the community (e.g. community councils), and are more remote from others (e.g. young people) (Neal and Walters, 2007). The representations of the rural that these people enact are important for considering in relation to ASB in rural locations, because as chapter two highlights, the harm caused by ASB is context dependent, and with the ‘shifting culture of control’, community groups and individuals are increasingly seen as part of this ‘new culture of crime control’ (Garland, 2001). Tensions therefore can exist between groups of people envisaging the rural in an idyllised manner, and those that do not, leading to forms of ‘othering’ within the rural setting (Bell, 2006; Garland, 2001; Neal and Walters, 2007; Sibley, 2003).

Halfacree's (2006) model therefore is a useful place to bring together the arguments made in chapter two about the nature, impact and causes of ASB because it neatly brings together the key factors relating to ASB, which when combined with Garland's shifting culture of control, enables ASB to be investigated in the totality of rural space. The next section of this chapter is going to explore the rural idyll as a representation of the rural, whilst the second half of this chapter is going to introduce and explore the rationale behind choosing the case study locations.

3.3 Representations of the rural: Challenging the rural idyll

The theoretical understandings of rurality have included well-established metanarratives of places of safety, neighbourly community, beauty and more recently as a space of freedom (Neal and Walters, 2006). These readings of the rural have been called into question in the past couple of decades by a number of prominent authors (see Cloke and Little, 1997; Donnermeyer and Dekeseredy, 2014; Neal and Walters, 2006; Philo, 1992). Philo's 1992 paper 'Neglected Rural Geographies' urged geographers to (re)consider the links between marginalised individuals and the rural environment, because the rural idyll narrative alienates those considered 'different' (Sibley, 2003). Although Cloke & Little (1997) warn against 'simplistic refocusing of the analytical gaze' on those marginalised in the countryside (cited in Neal & Walters, 2006: 177), in the context of this study it is important to recognise that interpretations of the rural influence the impacts, understandings of, and responses to, ASB.

The rural has traditionally been represented in terms of idyll, with images of the rural providing a natural outlook, opportunities for living and lifestyle which is happy, cohesive and healthy and offering a pace and quality of life missing from urban environs (Cloke, 2003). Characterised as a safe place to raise children (Valentine, 1997), and a safe place to live (Yarwood, 2010), the growth of countryside imagery seeks to emulate the 'comfort and cache' by association with the rural idyll. Indeed, Cloke (2003: 1) notes that 'the long fingers of idyll reach into our everyday lives via the cultural paraphernalia of film, television, art, books, magazines, toys and traditional practices', and without realising it, we live out and reproduce these knowledge's. Although it is hard to reject notions of the rural idyll altogether, Cloke's (2003) book brings together a collection of authors who suggest that it is now time to move beyond the two-dimensional cultural constructions of rurality into

new ways of knowing and understanding the countryside. This, it is argued, not only helps to contextualise the countryside, but helps differentiate between types of rural, taking account of the fact that rural areas are dynamic and not static and helps to highlight that traditionally ‘urban’ issues, such as mental health (Parr et al., 2011; Philo and Parr, 2004; Philo et al., 2005) and crime (Yarwood and Gardner, 2000; Yarwood, 2007), are also prominent issues in rural locations. Rural areas are therefore ‘not merely blank canvasses on which to paint socially constructed meanings’ (Cloke, 2003: 5), but are (re)inscribed with meaning where the everyday lives of those living in rural locations act out the representations of rurality and ‘establish them on the landscape of rural localities’ (Yarwood and Mawby, 2011: 220, Halfacree, 2006). In comparison to the majority of the ASB literature, the rural literature has an inherently contextualised dimension to it. Halfacree’s model helps integrate these different readings of the rural to understand the totality of rural space because there is a focus on the everyday lives of individuals, representations of the rural along with an understanding that the rural locality is important. In turn, this allows a more nuanced and contextualised reading of ASB.

3.3.1 The everyday lives of young people and the rural idyll

As chapter two examined, young people are frequently identified as a cause of ASB (Brown, 2013; Millie et al., 2005). This has been problematized in urban contexts, where authors have questioned the direct link between ASB and young people (see Brown, 2013; Burney, 2009; Millie, 2009). In rural contexts, however, there is less of a literature examining the role of young people in rural communities (notable exceptions include Kraack and Kenway, 2002; Matthews et al., 2000; Meek, 2006; Panelli, 2002; Jones, 2000 and Panelli et al., 2007). Young people are ‘often constructed as ‘anti-idyll’’, and particularly in relation to ASB discourse, seen to introduce disquiet, immorality and fear into rural communities (Kraack and Kenway, 2002; Matthews et al., 2000; Meek, 2006). Rural areas not only tend to have less crime and ASB but there also tends to be less tolerance of ASB in rural locations (Day et al., 2001), with idyllic representations of the rural meaning that the rural is ‘significant mainly because of its absence’ in criminology studies (Meek, 2006: 91). This study adds to this body of literature, seeking to examine and problematize discourses of the rural idyll that continue to permeate many rural communities.

Most recently, the rural has been conceptualised as socially constructed, with individual perceptions of rural creating spaces that are ‘dynamically entwined and inscribed’. As Woods (2009) highlights, work on the production, reproduction and contestations of rurality continue to be prominent within the discipline of ‘rural geography’, with Rye (2006: 409) stating that ‘rather than asking what the rural ‘is’, the pivotal question has become: how do actors socially construct their rurality?’ This social constructivist theoretical understanding underpins much of the recent literature and debate surrounding understandings of the rural. Rye (2006) and Neal & Walters (2007) examine how young people construct their rural environment, with Rye (2006) focusing on the contestation between notions of rural idyll and the rural dull, whilst Neal & Walters (2007) contrast ideas of the rural as sites of control and the rural as sites of freedom. Constructions of the rural as idyllic form a key part of the narrative surrounding ASB in rural locations in Scotland, a narrative that excludes many young people. The idyll is not a recognised part of the way that young people recognise rural space (Neal and Walters, 2008).

Rye's (2006) study is interesting because it presents the contrast between rural idyll/rural dull quantitatively in relation to youth in Norway. Rye (2006) argues that because those living rural areas often articulate the darker side of the idyll, it should be termed the ‘rural dull’. His study revealed that youth are much less likely to subscribe to versions of rural idyll, suggesting that poorer access to education and work leads to a negative viewpoint of what the rural can offer (Rye, 2006). As earlier sections have explored, this type of attitude is conducive to young people committing public forms of ASB like vandalism and graffiti (see section 2.7.2). In terms of linking the social construction of the countryside to narratives surrounding the rural idyll and rural natures, Neal and Walters (2007: 253) utilise a Foucauldian perspective to argue that at the heart of a rural community are processes of regulation, neighbour knowledge and surveillance. These processes, which are highlighted as creating ‘strong rural community,’ are juxtaposed by notions of social, cultural and socio-legal freedom by the respondents in Neal and Walters (2007) study. The contested boundaries of a socially constructed, orderly, type of rural community and a rural which is constructed as locations which are free from socio-legal norms and places of anti-order are important when considering the lives of those in the rural and varying representations of the rural (Halfacree, 2006; Neal and

Walters, 2007). Young people in rural locations frequently experience the tension of the observed rural, with ‘antagonism and displacement...and clashes with adults particularly commonplace’ in rural communities (Matthews et al., 2000: 146). The rural idyll therefore becomes a key way of not only understanding the context behind some of the causes relating to young people and ASB, but also for understanding some of the community response mechanisms and the way that the culture of control is enacted in rural communities. The way that rural localities are represented therefore does not match the experience of the everyday lives of many of the young people living in rural Scotland. This thesis unpacks the context of the everyday lives of young people in two case studies to critique idyllic representations of the rural.

3.3.2 Different community representations of the rural

Young people are only one group in rural communities where the concept of the rural idyll is a flawed representation of their lived experience in rural communities. The concept of the rural idyll has also been challenged in a number of other contexts, with the everyday lives of many of those in rural communities not recognisable in conceptions of the idyll. As Bell (2006: 158) notes, the rural is frequently (re)produced in urban minds as a kind of other, and demands the production of forms of ‘anti-idyll, based on a set of binaries about who and what belongs in the country and who or what is out of place there’. Panelli et al. (2005), for instance, highlights fear of crime amongst women in rural environments, illustrating that one of the key concepts of the ‘rural idyll’ is the notion of safety and that this representation of the rural is not accurate for many women living in rural locations. Understanding other representations of the rural is something which Gilling (2011) and Yarwood (2010) note as being important for understanding the complexities of ASB in rural locations. Gilling (2011) identifies four different representations of the rural: the idyll, the endangered countryside, the frightened countryside and the deprived countryside. The first of Gilling's (2011) conceptualisations of the rural involve notions of the rural idyll – a subject which has been widely explored – whilst the other three representations challenge the idyll as a conceptualisation of the rural.

As Gilling (2011) notes, however, the ‘endangered countryside’, is closely associated to themes of ‘othering’, conceptualising notions of counter-urbanisation and the dangerous city incomer, particularly in ways that participants identify their locale (Cloke, 2003; Neal and Walters, 2007; Philo and Parr, 2004; Sibley, 2003).

These studies examine different aspects of rural life, with the authors linking the experiences of rurality and seeking the rural idyll to the construction of the urban as a threat to the rural (Panelli et al., 2005). Although these notions of the rural have been critiqued (see Cloke, 2003), worry about ‘the other’ provides an important link between ASB, harm, fear, community and identity, with groups of young people, for example, often being feared. Indeed, Panelli et al. (2005: 154) state that those considered the ‘stranger or outsider’ become ‘the anti-community’ – perceived to be a threat to the security and stability of rural society (Sampson, 1988).

The third representation of rural areas identified by Gilling (2011) is the ‘frightened countryside’. This is relevant when considering the everyday lives of those in rural areas, with the frightened countryside representing people who are afraid of outsider’s threats to rural communities. Fear of crime is still a significant factor in the rural, despite crime being lower and the rural being culturally constructed as crime free (Yarwood and Gardner, 2000). The ‘frightened countryside’ typology proposed by Gilling (2011) highlights the juxtaposition between the statistical evidence that residents are safer in the rural but also feel more scared. Girling et al., (2000) underlines the socio-economic dimension to crime in the countryside, particularly in relation to travelling crime. Using the case study of Prestbury (‘an affluent enclave lying in the midst of Cheshire’s swell belt...housing some of that county’s economic and social elite’), Girling et al., (2000: 103) highlight the ‘anxiety of affluence’ that affects many of the residents, with ‘calculated criminals’ believed to be travelling from ‘crime exporting’ surrounding towns. The specific geography of a location, which includes the context of that location, therefore can have a fundamental impact on the everyday lives of those living there and the levels of ASB that they experience.

Gilling's (2011) fourth conceptualisation, ‘the deprived countryside’, seeks to offer a view of the countryside from the potential victim *and* the potential offender. It seeks to understand the countryside as a place of unmet social need, which is deprived through a lack of service provision. Poor transport networks, health and social care facilities and a lack of leisure and youth services can, as Gilling (2011: 77) notes, ‘enhance the vulnerability of potential victims of crime’ by underlining the representations of the ‘endangered and frightened’ countryside discussed earlier.

The impact of ASB, the harm, in locations which contain geographically isolated communities can therefore be significant. These views echo those given by participants in the Girling et al., (2000: 130) study, who state that one of their key worries in relation to the policing of ‘nuisance youths’ in the village of Prestbury is the ‘inability of the police to respond promptly to calls’. This is blamed, in part, because the police are not located in the village and therefore are either unaware that there is trouble or cannot respond as quickly as residents would like (Girling et al., 2000). There is an equally compelling converse argument however, which states that rural places have less of a need for a strong policing presence, with Table 2.2 showing that when crime statistics are analysed, rural crime rates are considerably lower than those in urban locations.

The multiple representations of the community are therefore important in consideration of the ways that the rural locality, representations of the rural and the everyday lives of those living in rural communities intersect (Halfacree, 2006). By considering the local representations of the rural, not only can harm associated with different forms of ASB be conceptualised, but also the way that the responsibilization agenda has been enacted in communities. In addition, the various representations can operate synonymously and are not mutually exclusive. Gilling (2011) notes that aspirational ruralists have a vested interest in protecting their financial and emotional investments whilst the police often underscore notions of ‘the frightened countryside’, which can be targeted through initiatives such as community policing. By promoting this conceptualisation of rural crime, the police can promote a reassurance agenda, and consequently argue the case for more resources (Gilling, 2011), whilst the aspirational ruralists seek to promote a different representation of the same community.

Conceptualisations of the rural as ‘idyllic’ remain prominent and popular in both the media and in some academic readings of the rural, yet as a large number of authors have highlighted (see Bell, 2006; Gilling, 2011; Neal and Walters, 2008; Yarwood, 2010), this conceptualisation of the rural should be challenged. In particular, evidence suggests that the ‘idyll’ narrative does not fit with the lived experience of young people in rural communities, and narratives of deprivation are more appropriate (Kraack and Kenway, 2002; Matthews et al., 2000). This is a key part of

the ASB narrative, with the causes of ASB being context dependent and related to the conceptualisation of rural experienced by both those perpetrating ASB and those responding to it. Halfacree's (2006) model provides a useful platform for considering the totality of rural space and the interlinkages between locality, representations and the everyday lives of those in rural communities and, importantly, it helps to provide a theorisation for contextualising the nature and impact of, and responses to, ASB in rural Scotland.

3.4 Research themes

The thesis has thus far critically analysed the literature associated with ASB and rural narratives. Having reviewed that literature, a number of important research themes have emerged which help to illustrate and indicate areas which are important to examine in the rest of the thesis. This section draws out these important contributions and highlights their centrality to the rest of the thesis.

The rural context provides an overarching narrative throughout this thesis. The context in which ASB occurs, which in this thesis is two rural Scottish communities, is key for understanding how ASB manifests itself, the impact ASB has on different locales and the response that the wider policing family need to take in order to tackle ASB. As chapter two noted, Garland's work is helpful for understanding how the British political environment in relation to criminal justice developed at the time that ASB policy was emerging. In particular, he argues that our contemporary control arrangements have been shaped by the socially conservative politics that emerged in the UK in the early 90s and the 'distinctive social organisation of late modernity' (Garland, 2001: X). Yet, the major critique of Garland's work, and one which he identifies himself, is that his reading of these issues is decontextualized (McKee, 2009). The explanations he gives operate at the supra-national scale and draw on shifts in policy that operate geopolitically on the North American and UK axis.

However, it is useful to understand the ways in which these readings of crime control influence national UK policy around ASB. Chapter one linked Garland's work to the ASB policy context. The policy context is important for both mapping the seismic rise of ASB rhetoric and legislation and for highlighting the importance of the local context and scale in understanding the way that ASB policy is implemented in rural Scotland. Policy development operates at the national level, with local

implementation and interpretation of policy reliant on the context in which it is being implemented (Hughes, 2011). In Scotland, the devolved administration makes the Scottish context of policy implementation different to that in England and Wales. At the local scale, the context in which that policy is implemented becomes entangled within the situated contexts of both the practitioners delivering the policy on the ground *and* upon those whom the national policy is targeting. The context therefore becomes a central part of the way that practitioners understand and respond to ASB in communities.

There has been a large amount of literature written about ASB in the past sixteen years across a range of disciplines. All of them have been published in relation to ASB within the urban environment, most commonly in large cities. With the exception of a limited number of studies, the urban context acts as a stage on which the challenges around ASB can be explored. In Millie (2009) for instance, ASB in urban locations is the focus because statistically more ASB occurs there, yet the impact this context has on the impact of and responses to ASB are not explored. A number of studies, including Millie's, do explore the importance in the context and time in determining whether an action is or is not anti-social; something which may be considered ASB outside an old peoples home on a Monday morning, may not be considered ASB outside a pub on a Friday night. Yet, this still treats ASB in a relatively normative, aspatial and decontextualized way where ASB is linked directly to broader issues in the night-time economy or to discourses around 'troubled youths'.

Innes and Weston's (2010) harm thesis moves the debate about the nature of ASB on significantly. By linking the nature of ASB to harm, they provide a useful theoretical way to begin to conceptualise the nature of ASB not as a set of behaviours, but through the harm that certain ASB behaviour causes. This helps to contextualise ASB because as this thesis will show, different communities are harmed by different forms of ASB in different ways. Yet there has not been any work to identify whether this is a practical way for practitioners to engage with or respond to ASB. Bringing together the harm thesis and the previous typologies of ASB developed by Millie and others, Figure 2.1 aims to theorise the nature and impact of ASB whilst also highlighting forms of behaviours that could be considered under those categories.

The context of this project is two communities in rural Scotland. In contrast to the majority of literature on ASB, the literature on the rural is extensively focused on understanding the importance of context and scale in theorising types of rural space. Halfacree's (2006) conceptualisation therefore maps neatly onto the conceptualisations of ASB outlined in chapter two, allowing the local scale, rural context to be considered when thinking about the everyday lives of those in rural localities who are (re)interpreting the rural localities. Halfacree's model provides a useful framework for contextualising the policy and ASB literature covered in chapter's one and two in contrasting rural case studies. The different rural narratives of the case studies mean that, in contrast to most of the existing urban ASB literature, the context in which the ASB occurs in the case studies plays a central role in the narrative of this thesis.

The aim of this thesis, therefore, is to examine critically the nature and impact of, and responses to, ASB in two case studies in rural Scotland. By bringing together Innes and Weston's (2010) and Millie's (2009) theorisations of ASB with Halfacree's (2006) work on rural space, this thesis provides a contextualised examination of ASB. Garland's culture of control thesis provides a useful broad theoretical context in which to situate this work. (Re)conceptualising ASB in this way is important because previous studies have tended to underplay the importance of the context in which ASB occurs, something which this thesis argues is of key importance in rural environments. From the initial aim, three main research questions were identified and developed:

- 1. What is the nature and meaning of ASB in rural Scotland and in what ways can ASB be theorised?**

As the previous chapters have explained, it is important to understand if the nature of ASB in rural communities is similar to that in urban locations or whether there is such a thing as 'rural ASB'. In order to understand this, the local rural scale needs to be considered. Yet, ASB policy is implemented at the national scale, where the nature of ASB in rural locations has hitherto been missing from these considerations. Understanding what the nature of ASB is in rural Scotland is therefore an important part of developing a holistic theoretical understanding of ASB

- 2. How does ASB impact on people within rural localities in Scotland and in what ways?**

As with understanding the nature of ASB, it is important to examine the ways the rural context effects how ASB impacts on rural localities. The context and bounded nature of rural communities means that the impact of ASB may differ from that in urban locations. In addition, little work has been done on understanding exactly how and in what ways different rural communities and localities are affected by ASB.

3. What are the characteristics of community, policy and policing responses to ASB in rural Scotland?

The rural creates a number of distinct challenges for responding to ASB, not least because the service delivery tends to be more fragmented and the police are not stationed within the villages themselves. This means there are important differences in the way that police respond to ASB and the community-police interaction. These responses operate at different scales, with, for example, a rural police officer having to react locally, guided by national policy. Thus, the context in which these decisions are taken becomes important.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has provided an examination of the dominant representations of the rural. By exploring the concept of the rural idyll and how it has been challenged in different contexts, this chapter has sought to bring together the debates about ASB and locate them in the rural environment. Engaging with the rural literature is important for framing and contextualising the debates that emerge in the ASB literature and that were outlined in chapter two. The second half of this chapter has underlined where the main gaps in the literature exist and, importantly, highlight how this thesis intends to address those gaps. The rural context plays a lead role in the analysis of the nature and impact of, and responses to, ASB. It therefore forms the basis of the research methodology, something which the next two chapters explore in detail.

4 Researching ASB in rural Scotland: Research design and methods

4.1 Introduction

The research design and methodology were specifically designed to address the research questions outlined in chapter three. This chapter will highlight how the research methodology shaped procedural processes of empirical engagement, exploring the research design and methodology, while chapter five will offer reflections on the methodology used in this project, using 7 vignettes from my fieldwork diary.

The first section of this chapter frames the rationale for taking a qualitative approach to answer the research questions. Interviews, focus groups and participant observation were the methods used in this study. This chapter offers an in depth analysis of each of these methods in relation to the participant groups, including reflections on the procedural aspects of using semi-structured interviews, focus groups and participant observation with the police and the communities of Abanoch and Crian. The final section covers the analysis of the empirical data, and reflecting upon the overall research process, notes the dissemination, impact and knowledge exchange process relating to this project.

4.2 Research design: Approaching the field

From the inception of this project, Philo's (1992) call to rethink the relationship between the marginalised and subordinated others and the rural environment, played an important part in the methodological design of this project. The subsequent debate in geography was marked by rural researches calling for and highlighting the importance of developing a 'reflexive account of 'doing research'' (Neal & Walters, 2006: 177). As chapters two and three explored, the rural idyll, as a dominant representation of the rural needs to be challenged in relation to ASB in Scotland. Understanding the 'self-reflective turn in cultural studies' (Cloe & Thrift, 1994: 4) underlines the importance of self-reflexive positionality for shedding light on rural, social and place relations. The rural context plays an important role in the way that ASB impacts and is responded to by local authority, third sector and the community.

The methodology has been designed to be able to tackle issues around the nature and impact of, and responses to, ASB in rural Scotland. To be able to tackle the complex

and in-depth nature of the research questions, a multi-method, mixed qualitative approach was taken between comparative case study sites. The rationale for case study design is explored in section 4.3, but first an overview of the decision process to use a multi-method qualitative approach is examined. An overview of this process is provided in Figure 4.1 below:

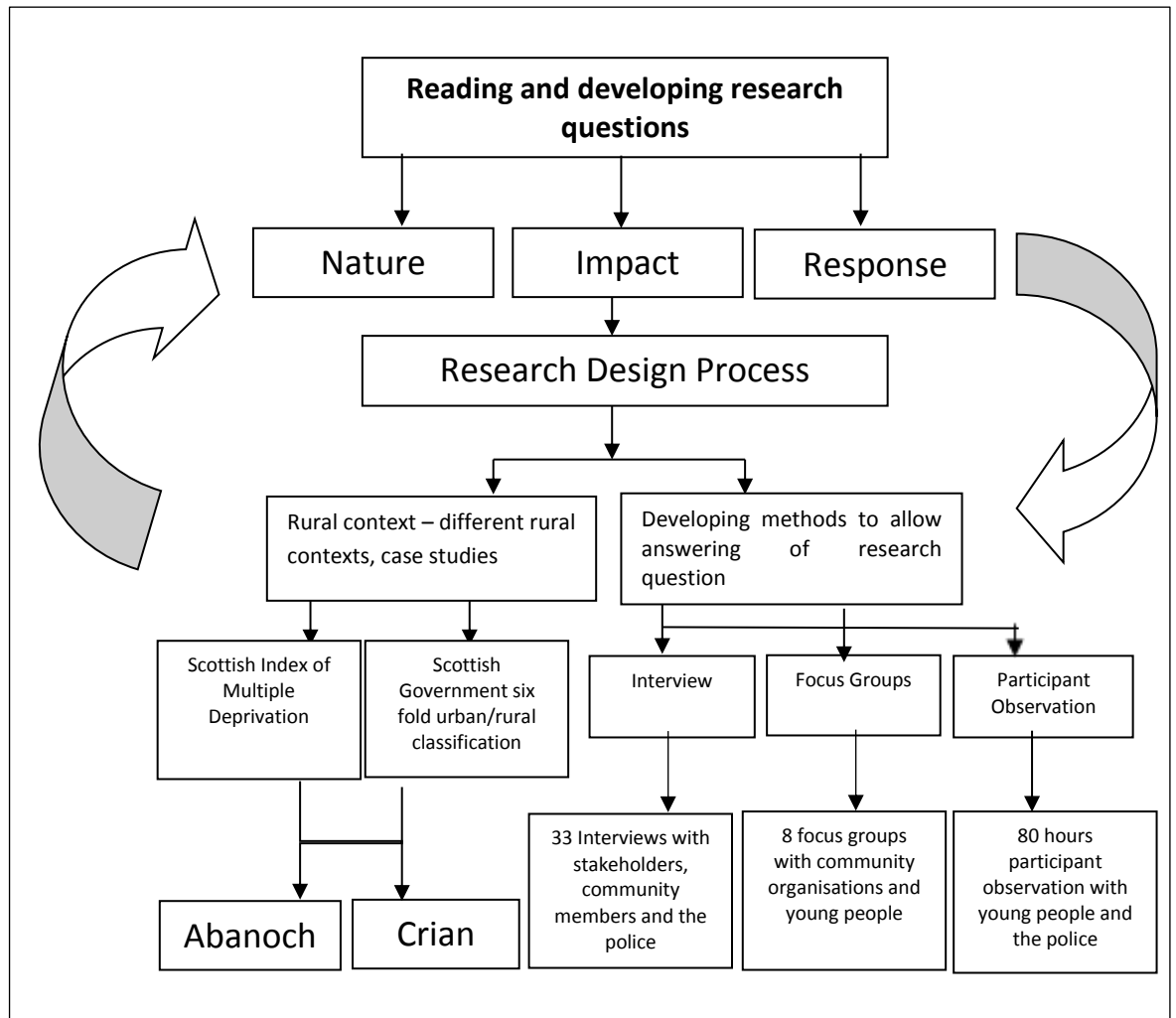


Figure 4.1: Diagram showing decision-making process in research design

Figure 4.1 highlights the flow of decision making in relation to the methods that were utilised in the study and the case study locations. This chapter is going to explore all these decisions in more detail. Qualitative research consists of a ‘set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible’ (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998: 5). An important part of this thesis is understanding ASB in rural space as a whole, taking into account representations of the rural, the rural locality and rural lives (Halfacree, 2006). As Denzin and Lincoln (2005: 3) note, qualitative research

involves studying ‘things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them’ and produce knowledge by spending a prolonged length of time in the field.

This study draws on geography, criminology and allied social science literatures to examine ASB geographically, accounting for spatiality, scale and the rural context of the case studies. As Yarwood (2007) notes, much of the recent relevant social science literature has examined the mapping of crime patterns (Monmonier, 2006), the fear of crime (Pain, 2000) and the impacts of legislation (Sibley, 2003), rather than the spatiality of crime and policing. ASB has been examined by a number of different authors in diverse fields of study. For example Flint (2004) examines the impact of ASB in housing situations, Fyson & Yates (2011) takes a health derived approach when thinking about the role of mental health in ASBO’s and Innes & Weston (2010) examine the role of policing ASB. These previous studies also tend to underplay the role that context plays in understanding the nature and impact of ASB. Flint & Nixon (2006: 941), for example, note that ASB legislation is underpinned by the ‘irrevocable membership of local (spatially defined) communities, imbuing [individuals] with a series of duties and obligations to their neighbours and communities’, but maintain a macro-level analysis of community. A key aim of this project therefore, is to explore what the term ‘anti-social behaviour’ means for those living in two different rural case study areas in Scotland.

Epistemologically, understanding ASB at a community level and wishing to advance understanding of the appreciative aspects of ASB and its impact on individual behaviour and the place, rather than analysing statistics and crime, mean that this research is sited in the qualitative research side of enquiry. Although there are a number of ways that ASB is measured by the police, local authorities and in national surveys (see for instance Ormston & Anderson, 2009), this project examines ASB in a more holistic way, examining the local-scale impact of such behaviour. Using a multi-method mixed qualitative approach allows for a deep empirical engagement with participants and the ‘why’ questions to be asked more readily.

Crang and Cook (2007) utilise a broad definition of ethnography, where interviewing, focus groups and participant observations are included within their definition. However, although Herbert (2000: 551) stresses the ambiguity of the

term ‘ethnography’, he argues that it ‘rests upon participant observation’ whereby ‘the researcher spends considerable time observing and interacting with a social group.’ As the next sections in this chapter explore, parts of my research design with young people and the police involved ‘ethnography’ as defined by Herbert (2000), where extended periods of participant observation occurred. However, in order to research a sensitive subject like ASB in rural locations, focus groups and semi-structured interviews were also utilised as part of the research methodology – methods which are part of a broader multi-method, mixed qualitative approach rather than a purely ethnographic study.

As McIntosh (2008) highlights, young people are often wrongly associated with being anti-social. Despite young people being labelled as one of the main causes of urban ASB, there is a dearth of research that engages with, and gives a voice to the perspectives of anti-social youths (McIntosh, 2008). A key aim of this research is to re-dress the balance and engage with young people in the case studies and explore their understandings of ASB. In order to do this, Baker et al., (1996) highlight the importance of developing an understanding of the context and circumstance of the young person; something which this project did through extensive engagement with young people at youth clubs. Thus, developing a qualitative approach allowed analysis of the ways that young people construct ASB and ‘understand parts of the world as they are experienced and understood in the everyday lives of people who actually ‘live them out’’ (Cook & Crang, 1995: 4).

Young people, however, are only part of the community picture. Within the two case studies, five participant groups were identified: young people, community members, ‘community change’³ groups, police officers and individuals involved through the local authority and third sector level in tackling ASB. As Figure 4.1 highlights, participant observation, focus groups and semi-structured interviews were conducted across the five participant groups. This is summarised in Table 4.1 below:

³ Community Change groups was a term a participant used to describe groups which seek to actively change the community in some way. This is discussed in more detail in section 8.3.1

Methods	Police	Young people	Local Authority/ Third Sector stakeholders	Community	Total
Number of Interviews	5 (PC to Chief Superintendent)		7 (Youth workers, community workers)	21 (Ages 20s—80s)	33 interviews
Focus Groups		4 (Ages 13-17)		4 (Community groups)	8 focus groups
Participant Observation	29 hours (16 hours car and 8 hours foot patrol, 5 hours police station)	51 hours (youth groups – 28 hours in Crian and 23 in Abanoch)			80 hours participant observation

Table 4.1: Research summary of methods and participants

As Table 4.1 highlights, a number of different methods were employed to examine ASB in rural parts of Scotland. A number of interviews were conducted in pairs, with 15 participants across the 7 youth worker and local authority interviews and 24 participants across 21 community interviews. Focus groups and interviews are important for understanding the context of ASB (Clarke et al., 2011), while participant observation allows a deeper engagement with the participants. Crang & Cook's (2007: 16) call for researchers to think carefully about the intertwining of different qualitative methods and recognise 'that the resultant enquiries will inevitably be both partial and positioned within a particular web of interdependencies'. Thus, for a variety of epistemological and ontological reasons, a comparative case-study design was utilised along with a multi-method mixed qualitative approach, which enabled me to understand the community context and explore the nature and impact of, and responses to, ASB in rural Scotland. There is an emphasis on community level outcomes and understanding how the Government can support agencies and communities to prevent ASB through better integration, engagement and communication – factors that are very difficult to measure

quantitatively. Importantly, in a project where multiple methods are being utilised across different participant groups and at different times, it was important to think about the sequence of the research. Table 4.2 below highlights the general time line of participants:

Month	Community Members			Third Sector	Young people	Local Authority		Police		
June 2011	Building up initial contacts across participant groups									
July										
August	Yellow			Red		Yellow				
September	Yellow			Red		Yellow		Red		
October	Yellow	Red		Red		Yellow		Red		
November	Yellow	Red	Green		Yellow	Green	Red		Yellow	
December	Yellow	Red	Green		Yellow	Green	Red		Yellow	
January 2012	Yellow		Green				Red		Yellow	
February									Yellow	
March	Building up initial contacts across participant groups									Red
April	Yellow								Red	
May	Yellow				Yellow					
June	Yellow				Yellow					
July	Yellow	Red		Red	Yellow					
August	Yellow	Red		Red	Yellow	Green				
September	Yellow	Red		Red		Green	Red			
October	Yellow	Red		Red			Red			
November			Green							
December			Green						Yellow	
January 2012									Red	
February									Red	

Key

Participant Observation

Interviews

Focus Groups

Blue are refers to Abanoch

Pink refers to months spent in both Abanoch and Crian

Green refers to months in Crian

Table 4.2: The progression of methods through time

Table 4.2 highlights the complexity of using a mixed qualitative approach. It underlines the complexities of qualitative research (Crang and Cook, 2007), with different research being undertaken with different participants at different times in both communities. Although the boundaries look defined, the reality was somewhat different, with research across different participant groups overlapping, intersecting and ultimately reflecting the fluidity of ‘doing’ social research. In practice, careful consideration was given to the order in which the research participants were engaged. As Kelly (2003) discusses, the institutionalised mistrust of young people means that there is a ‘climate of resentment and fear [towards the police] among young people’ (Goldsmith, 2008: 234). It was therefore important to establish relationships with the young people in youth clubs prior to engaging with the police. However, as Table 4.2 highlights, these engagements overlapped and the reality was the young people in both case study locations witnessed me on patrol with the police, which led to some tricky negotiation over my positionality (see section 5.2). The rural context therefore played an important role in the consideration of methods.

Aside from the methods, another important consideration related to the choice of case studies locations. Comparative case study design utilises multiple sources of data to provide ‘rich accounts of the details’ of different communities (Bryman, 2008: 275), with Yin (2009) and Bryman (2008) both arguing that case study research design enables a focus on contemporary phenomenon within ‘some real-life context’ (Yin, 2009). The next sections will explore the rationale for the use of case studies and introduce the case study locations.

4.3 Rationale for choosing comparative case study locations

A number of key decisions had to be taken in order to select case study sites; it is important to ensure that there is enough depth to ensure a comparative element between the sites, whilst being mindful of the timescales involved with conducting participant observation, interviews and focus groups with young people, the police and community members and negotiating the ‘power, knowledge and ethics’ embedded within these communities (Crang & Cook, 2007: 26). It was important to pick case studies which illustrate different forms of representations of the rural, because as the previous section highlights, representations of the rural idyll, for example, impact on the lived experience of those in rural communities.

Crang & Cook (2007) was helpful for thinking about case study design when undertaking a qualitative study. In choosing the number of case studies, a key consideration was the length of time I was able to spend with young people establishing relationships. Following Herbert's (1996: 7) advice that 'depth trumps breadth', the decision to have two case study sites reflects both an epistemological aim to engage with research participants for an extended period of time combined with a case study selection based on the Scottish Government's six-fold urban-rural classification (See sections 4.4.1 and 4.4.2).

Following Yin's advice of using the 'strength of multiple cases' and maintaining what Marshall and Rossman (2011: 105) term 'sampling soundness and a depth to the study' was important for case study selection. Having decided upon two comparative case study areas, the next decision was choosing case study locations. As the previous section notes, literature suggests that there are a number of different ways that rural communities are characterised (e.g Gilling, 2011), thus selecting case study locations required a comparison between different representations of the rural. ASB is closely linked in the literature to social housing and communities with high incidences of multiple deprivation (Burney, 2009; Millie, 2009, 2008; Squires and Stephen, 2005). Thus a case study with a dominant 'idylized' rural representation was contrasted with a case study with a dominant 'deprived/frightened' representation (Gilling, 2011), enabling this study of ASB to be conducted in locations which appear to offer contrasting representations of 'the rural'. The case study locations, Abanoch and Crian⁴, vary in the way that the rural is represented. The case studies are introduced in more detail in 4.5.

At a pragmatic level, having a contact in a senior management position in a police force meant that working within a single police force⁵ area was important. Triangulating the Scottish Government six fold urban/rural classification, with the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD) within a single police force area

⁴ The decision to use pseudonyms was taken on the ethical basis of providing as much anonymity as possible to the participants of this study. Fear of crime and ASB remains high (Scottish Government, 2011c) and the findings of this study could have been damaging to the villages involved. Other studies involving ASB and crime have also utilised pseudonyms (Burney, 2009; Herbert, 2006; Neal and Walters, 2006)

⁵ At the time of this study, there were 8 police forces in Scotland. In April 2013, the eight forces and the Scottish Crime Drug Enforcement Agency amalgamated to form Police Scotland.

narrowed down the case study locations considerably. In addition, initial visits to the case study locations enabled a qualitative ethnographic analysis to be taken, with my initial impressions noted, along with the dominant forms of the visible rural representations and forms of visible ASB around the villages (see section 5.2). The next part of this chapter examines the two case study locations in more detail.

4.4 Studying ASB in rural Scotland: An introduction to the case study locations

ASB is inextricably linked to the context in which it takes place, with representations of the rural, the rural locality and the lives of the rural combining to give an understanding of rural space (Halfacree, 2006). Thus, in order to understand the nature and impact of, and responses to, ASB in rural Scotland, it is important to provide the context of the case study locations. There are a number of different approaches that could be taken in order to select case study – including using measures of ASB recorded in the Scottish Social Attitudes Survey (Ormston and Anderson, 2009) or the number of ‘nuisance calls’ recorded by the police in specific areas. In reality, however, the contested nature of ASB makes it difficult to define exactly what ASB is. Furthermore, high levels of underreporting of ASB, along with greater variation in rural areas in the way that ASB is recorded, make this a flawed way to decide on case study locations. Basing case study locations on definitions of ASB from large-scale surveys would have also meant that potentially interesting qualitative data might have been missed. Finally, there have been so few ASBOs issued in rural areas, that basing case study locations on these measures is not robust enough. Instead, the six-fold urban rural classification and the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD) was used to help select case study locations.

4.4.1 The Scottish Government Urban/Rural Classification

The Scottish urban-rural classification was first released in 2000, and unlike the English and Welsh system, it defines settlements of 3000 or fewer people as ‘rural’ (Scottish Government, 2010b). In addition, the classification splits the remoteness of places based on drive times from settlements of 10,000 or more people. This classification is therefore based on population and accessibility, taking no account of spatial density. This is the six-fold urban rural classification:

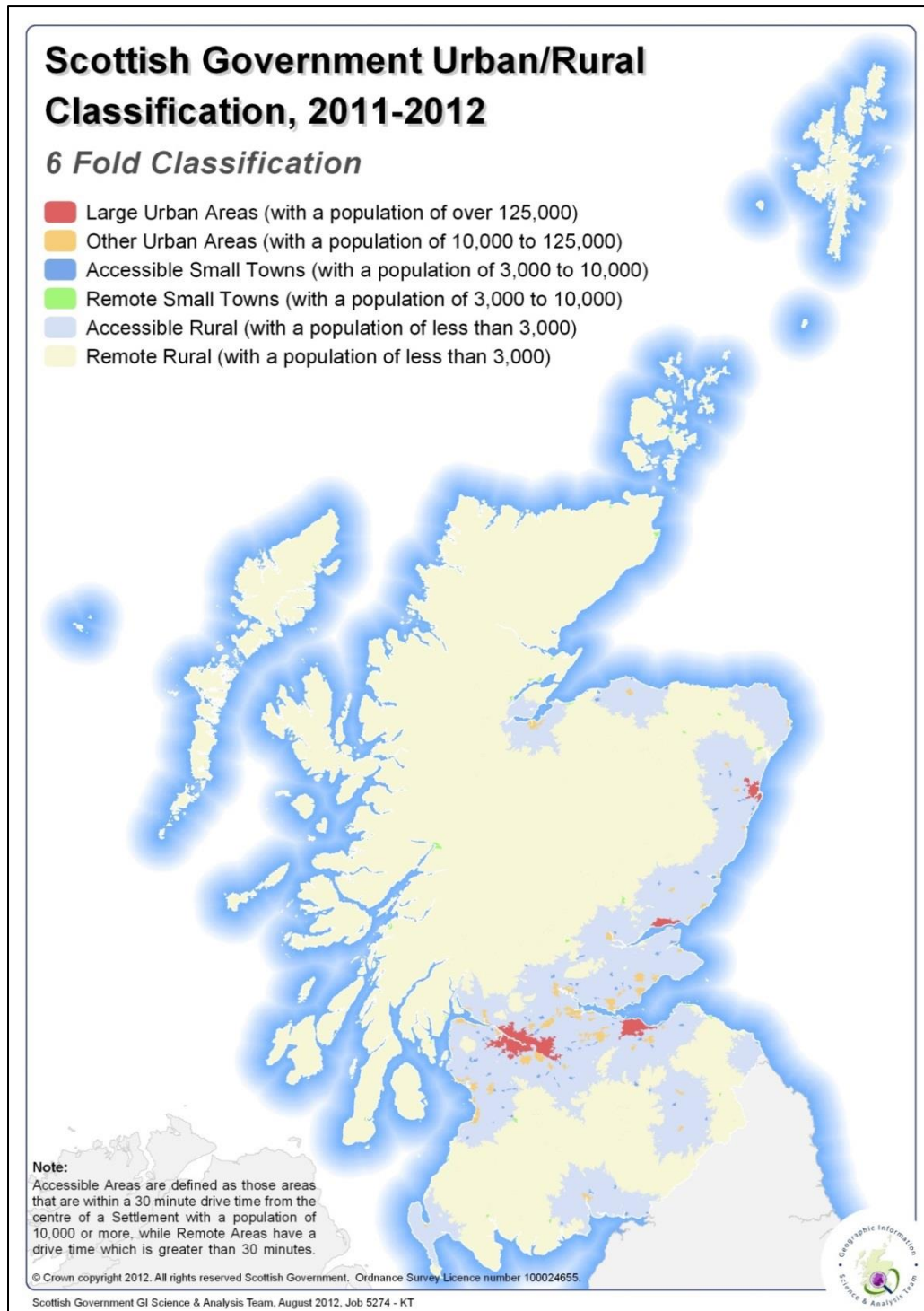


Figure 4.2: The Scottish six-fold urban rural classification (Scottish Government, 2010b)

The Scottish Government (2010: 8) state that the methodological reason for using population and accessibility to define urban-rural settlements is because built up areas in Scotland 'are generally more identifiable as the traditional towns and cities than administrative boundaries such as council areas, much of which consists of land that is not developed and unpopulated'. Thus, the unique geography of Scotland means that population density would be largely meaningless for large parts of the

country. The methodological differences between the English and Welsh urban-rural system and the Scottish classification mean that there is not a uniform way of classifying the urban-rural relationship across the UK.

There are a number of well-cited limitations for using the Scottish urban/rural classification. Practically, the Scottish definition of ‘accessibility’ only takes account of car drivers and therefore apparently ‘accessible’ locations can be inaccessible to those with no car access, something which Gilling (2011) highlights in his rural typology. In addition, rural locations with populations of more than 10,000, places which are very remote in terms of access to larger urban centres (for instance Stranraer), are classified as ‘other urban’ rather than rural, despite these locations often having economies based largely on rural industries. Population changes also mean that from year to year some settlements move bandings: in 2007-2008 Kincardine had a population estimated to be greater than 3000, but by 2009-2010, this had dropped to below 3000. Arguably, however, this small town had not become more or less ‘rural’ over this timescale. Despite these limitations, splitting the rural into ‘the accessible’ and ‘the remote’ provides a useful way of rationalising relevant case study locations, in part because the urban/rural classification is utilised widely within Government projects, so the limitations are well known and understood within policy circles.

The national urban/rural classification is useful because it not only provides a robust and practical framework, but also because the literature suggests that there will be differences in the types of ASB and responses of communities depending on the degree of rurality. In particular, through conceptualisations of rural crime, there are contrasts between types and levels of crime committed in accessible rural areas compared with those committed in remote rural locations (see Table 2.2) (Girling et al., 2000). By extension therefore, it would be expected that the nature and impact of, and responses to, ASB would differ in different rural contexts. Although no work has explored ASB specifically in rural contexts, work on crime in middle England by Girling et al., (2000), highlights the spatiality of crime and crime control, and in particular, how travelling criminals are often blamed for committing crimes in accessible rural locations. In terms of the ASB literature, both Millie, (2009) and Burney (2008) highlight how in the case of urban ASB, youths often commit ASB in estates where they do not live – the spatiality of ASB is distinct and the context is

important. Using the ‘accessible rural’ and ‘the remote rural’ as distinct spatial scales for case studies therefore enabled the spatiality of rural ASB to be examined. This is one axis of diversity in relation to ASB in the rural environment, a second axis relates to the index of multiple deprivation.

4.4.2 The Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation

ASB is frequently associated with areas of high incidence of multiple deprivation (Millie, 2009). As Millie (2009) notes, low income and poor housing along with poor parental supervision, discipline and disadvantaged neighbourhoods are the main risk factors for ASB. A second part of the case study design of this project therefore utilised the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD) to identify case study locations based on levels of deprivation. The indices of multiple deprivation combines thirty-eight indicators across seven domains, namely: income, employment, health, education, skills and training, housing, geographic access and crime (Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics, 2013). These indices are then weighted and combined to give a measure to intermediate geography level of the deprivation of a location.

This is the SIMD 2009 (later versions were only published online):

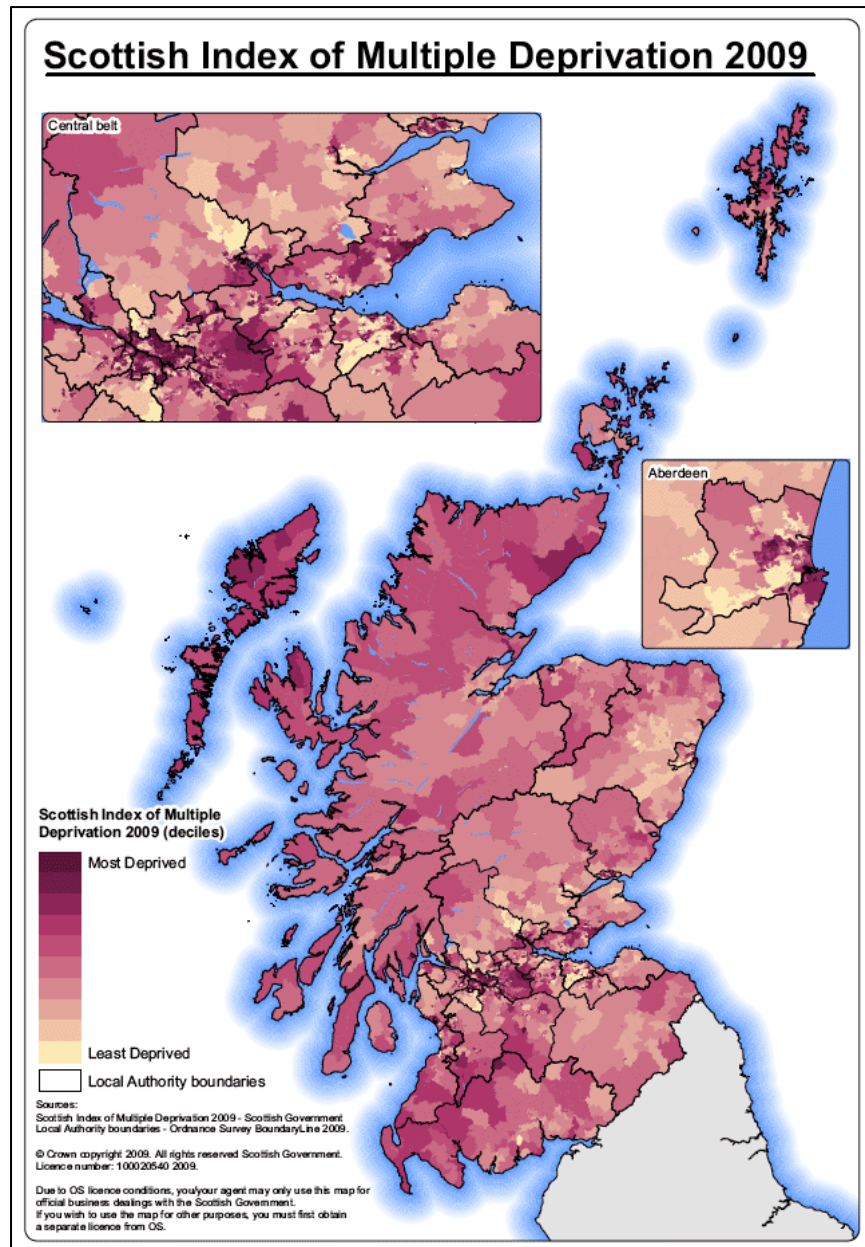


Figure 4.3: The Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics, 2013)

The SIMD and the urban/rural classification highlight the diversity of rural environments. The literature suggests that deprivation is an important factor for identifying urban areas with high incidences of ASB (Jacobson et al., 2008; Matthews et al., 2000; Millie, 2009). The ‘deprived rural’ (Gilling, 2011) therefore is an important context for examining ASB. The SIMD, although instrumentalist in the way it has been designed and lacking broader situational context, is a useful way of gaining a ‘snapshot’ of deprivation levels in Scotland. In addition, it allows this thesis to link in more closely with policy, as Government policy frequently defines locations by the urban-rural classification and the SIMD. Two comparative case

studies were therefore selected, based on these different measures, with Abanoch being less ‘deprived’ on the SIMD indices compared to Crian.

4.5 Case study locations: Abanoch and Crian

The village of Abanoch is classed as a remote rural location, located a fifty minute drive from the nearest town of 10,000 people or more. With a population of 1895, Abanoch is a small, affluent community with a thriving tourist trade. The Scotland census results (2001) highlight the fact that Abanoch has a larger number of people over sixty than the Scottish average, with almost double the percentage of people over seventy-five than the Scottish average.

The second case study setting is the village of Crian. Located a twenty-five minute drive from the nearest town of 10,000 people or more, it is classed as accessibly rural (Scottish Government, 2010b). It is also only a ten-minute drive from a town with population 7965 and many local amenities, which is significant because this is where the police station and two large supermarkets are located. A factory is located in the village and employs over a 1000 people from Crian and surrounding locations. There are a significant number of Eastern European seasonal workers who travel to Crian to both work in the factory and pick berries. According to the local council, since the A8 countries joined the EU, the numbers of seasonal workers from Crian has increased greatly and has put significant strain on the local infrastructure (Local Authority [Name withheld], 2010). In addition, ‘wages are amongst the lowest in Scotland’, with median average of weekly basic pay for full time employees of £296, compared to an average in Scotland of £350 (Local Authority [Name withheld], 2010). There are also ‘significant pockets of deprivation’, creating a community that is different to Abanoch. Table 4.3 below summarises the main demographic differences between Abanoch and Crian:

% of population age groups	Abanoch	Crian	Scotland
Population	1895	2190	5,062,011
- % 5-15 years old	13.46	12.79	13.73
- % 16-29 years old	11.93	15.94	17.46
- % 60-74 years old	17.57	14.98	13.98
- % 75 and over	14.04	7.67	7.09
Country of Birth	Abanoch	Crian	Scotland
- % Scotland (Inc. UK part not specified)	82.69	90.82	87.15
- % England	13.46	5.66	8.08

Table 4.3: Population and country of birth data, Abanoch and Crian (Adapted from the Scottish Census Results Online webpage: www.scrol.gov.uk, 2001 census data)

Table 4.3 highlights some of the demographic differences between Crian and Abanoch. In addition to having a larger percentage elderly population compared to the rest of Scotland and Crian, Abanoch has a larger percentage of residents who were born in England. This is examined in chapter six in relation to second-home owners moving to Abanoch. Age and intergenerationality also play an important part in the nature and impact of ASB. In Crian, the age structure of the community is different to Abanoch, with only a small percentage more people than the Scottish average over sixty. In contrast to Abanoch, proportionally more of the population in Crian were born in Scotland, with fewer than the Scottish average being born in England (Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics, 2013).

In terms of levels of ASB in Abanoch and Crian, there are limited statistics available. However, the local authority collate local authority level ASB information which helps provide a broader context to Crian and Abanoch. Within the council, there were 3 ASBOs granted between April and December 2013, while 18 Acceptable Behaviour Agreements were issued on a voluntary basis. These were all issued in urban locations within the local authority. In terms of the dominant forms of ASB in 2013, the council report 291 ‘youth related issues’ between April and December, with 145 of those calls relating to groups gathering. The 7 community wardens employed by the council operate in the main city in the local authority and they reported discarded drug paraphernalia as the biggest issue. In Abanoch and Crian, there were no reported ASBOs in 2013 and no Acceptable Behaviour Agreements issued.

When the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD) is examined, differences between Abanoch and Crian are highlighted. The indices show that Abanoch is one of the least deprived areas in Scotland (see Figure 4.4):

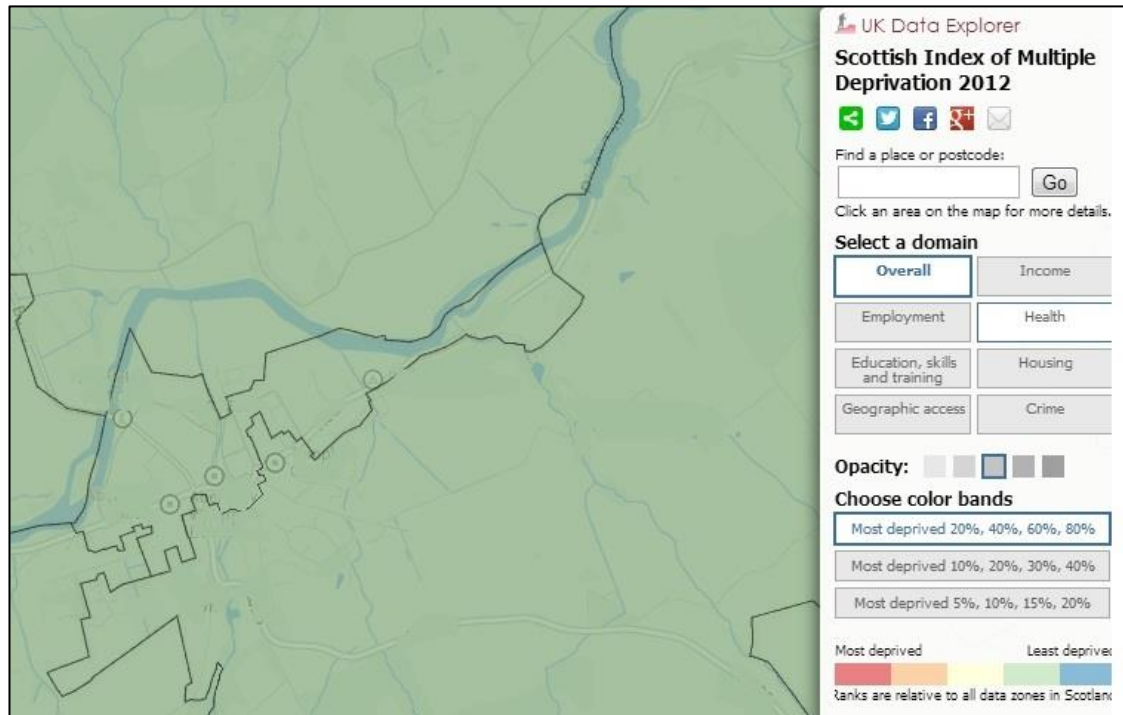


Figure 4.4: Anonymised Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation map of Abanoch, taking account of the six domains of deprivation

The green colour indicates that these datazones are in the 'least deprived' end of the spectrum. In contrast to Abanoch, the SIMD data also highlights Crian as a more deprived location. The datazone that covers the centre of Crian is in the 20% most deprived areas in Scotland (see Figure 4.5):

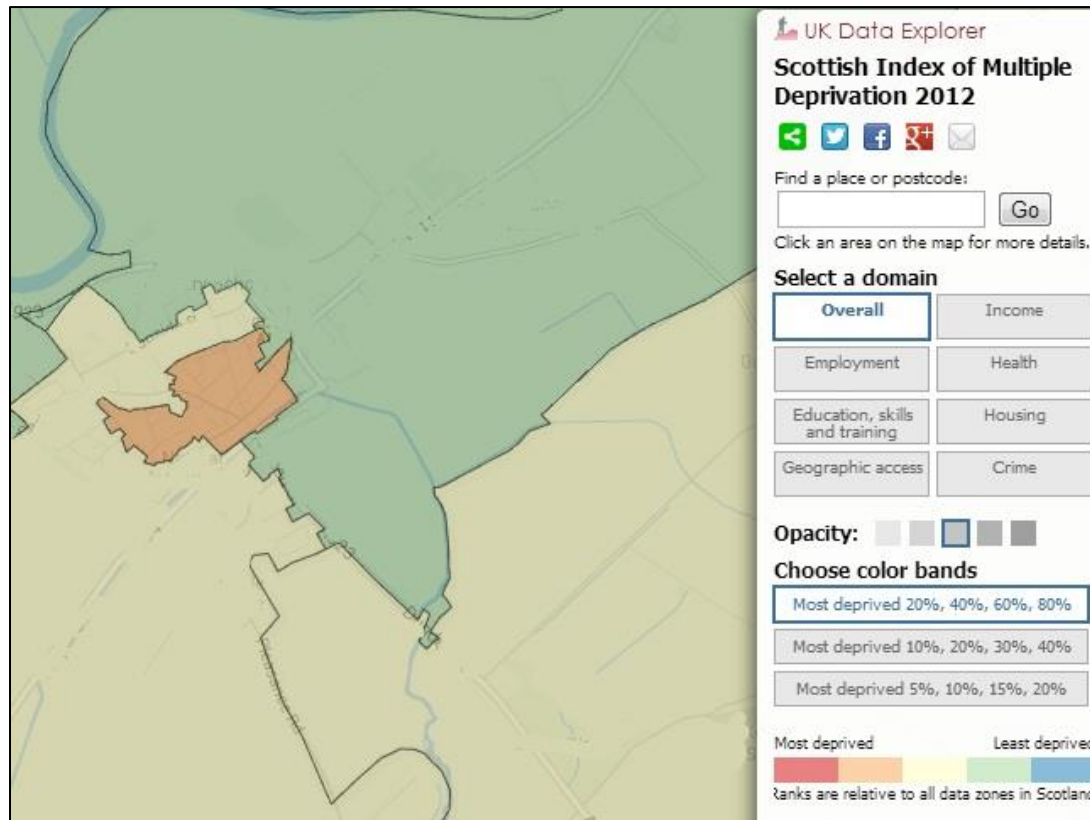


Figure 4.5: Anonymised Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation map of Crian, taking account of the six domains of deprivation

Figure 4.4 is an anonymised map of Abanoch and highlights overall that the datazones which make up this village are some of the least deprived in Scotland, while Figure 4.5 shows Crian to be more deprived (Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics, 2013), with the orange indicates the centre of Crian to be one of the most deprived in Scotland. When the SIMD is subdivided into crime and education, a similar pattern can be seen. Focusing on a lack of education, training and skills is important because these are frequently cited as drivers for ASB (see for instance Artaraz et al., 2007). The crime data in the SIMD is based on six measures: crimes of violence; crimes of indecency, drug offences; domestic house breaking; minor assault; and vandalism. The crime domain score is a sum of the recorded crimes in each of the indicators and is referred to as 'SIMD crime' rather than total crime, as it does not include all recorded crimes (Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics, 2013). Included in the indicator for education, skills and training are indicators such as absences, number of pupils going on to further education and the number of pupils aged 16-19 not in education, employment or training. These two indicators were selected as important for understanding ASB, with Burney (2009) and Millie (2009)

noting the importance of skills in reducing ASB. Figures 4.6 and 4.7 show that the village of Abanoch ranks in the middle quintile for crime and education, skills and training, while surrounding datazones are in the least deprived for crime:

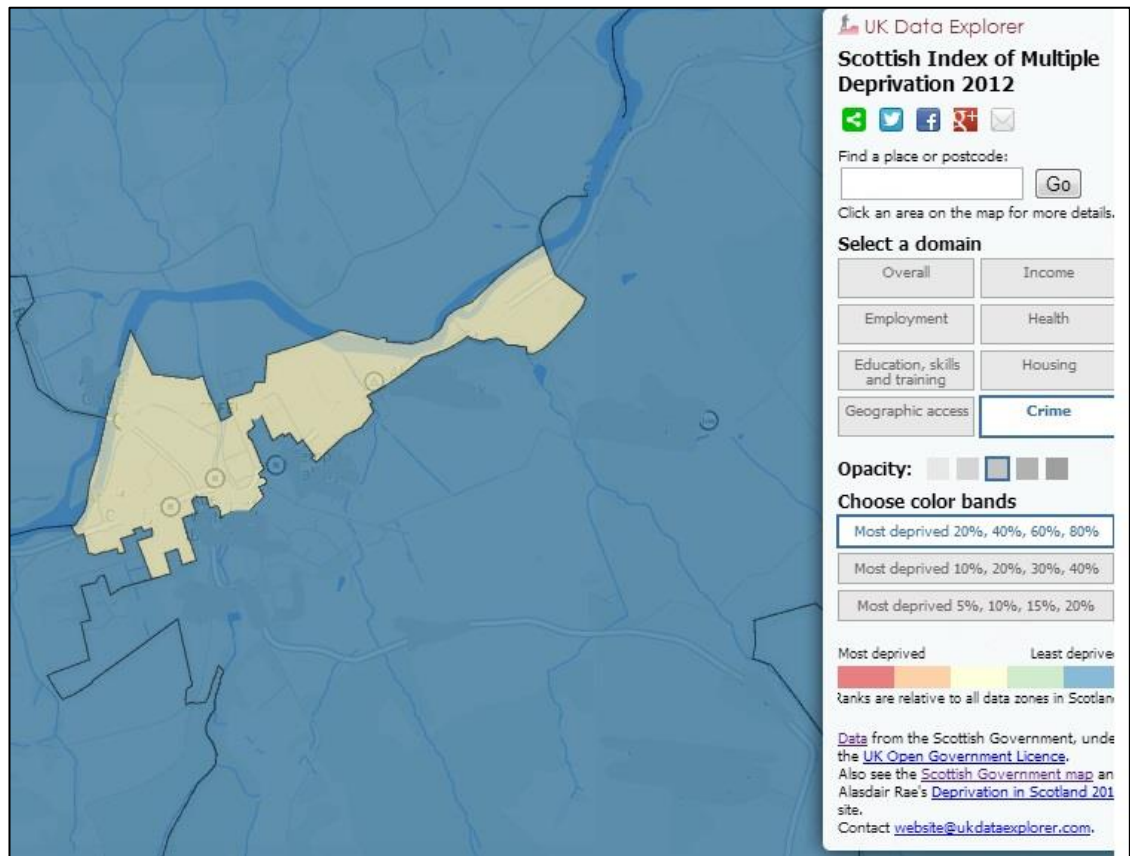


Figure 4.6: Anonymised map of the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation of crime in Abanoch

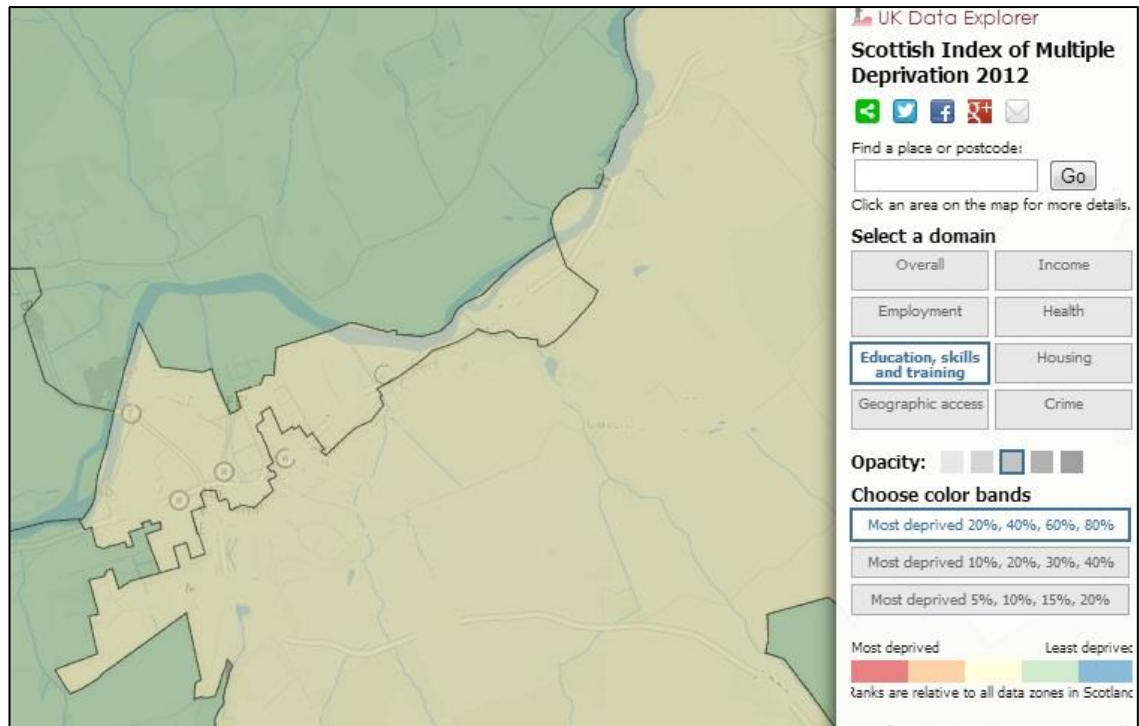


Figure 4.7: Anonymised map of the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation for education, skills and training in Abanoch

When crime and education skills and training are examined in the SIMD, it becomes clear that Crian is significantly more deprived in these measures than Abanoch. The centre of Crian is in the bottom 20% most deprived datazones in Scotland for crime (see Figure 4.8) and the centre of Crian is in the 10% most deprived datazones for education, skills and training (see Figure 4.9):

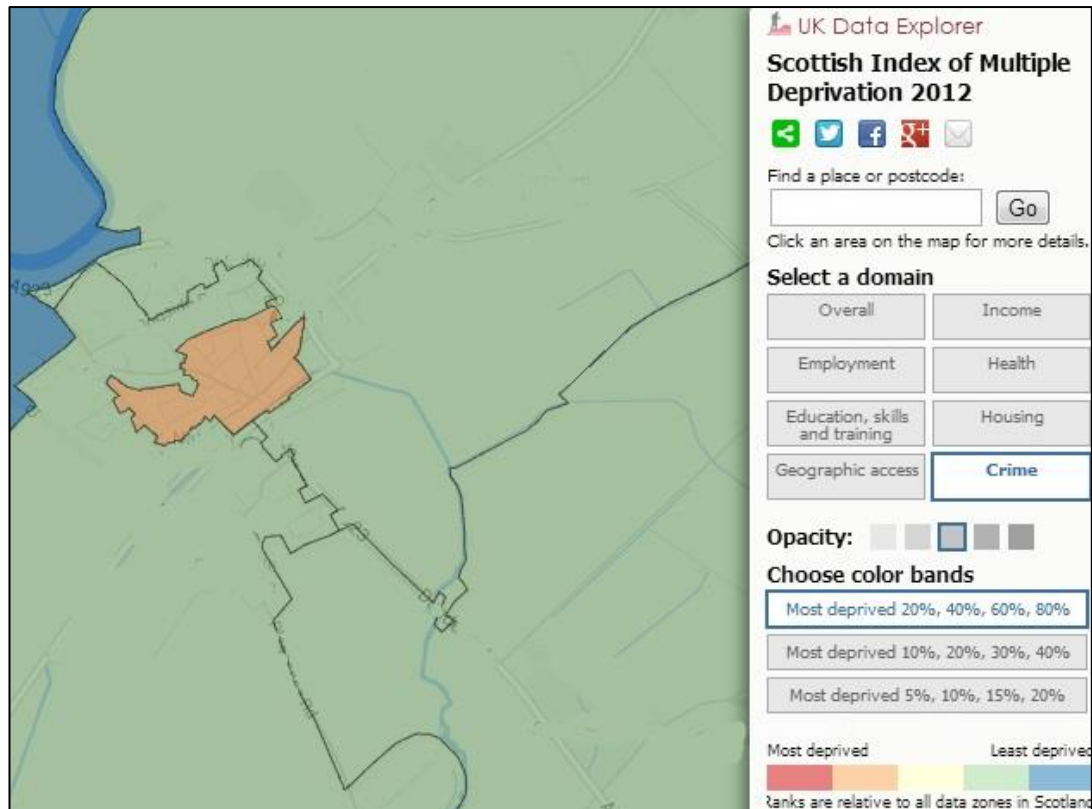


Figure 4.8: Anonymised map of the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation for crime, Crian

The orange colour highlights the fact that the measures of crime that are included in the SIMD are more frequently reported in Crian in comparison to Abanoch, whilst as Figure 4.9 highlights, Crian is one of the most deprived places in Scotland for education, skills and training:

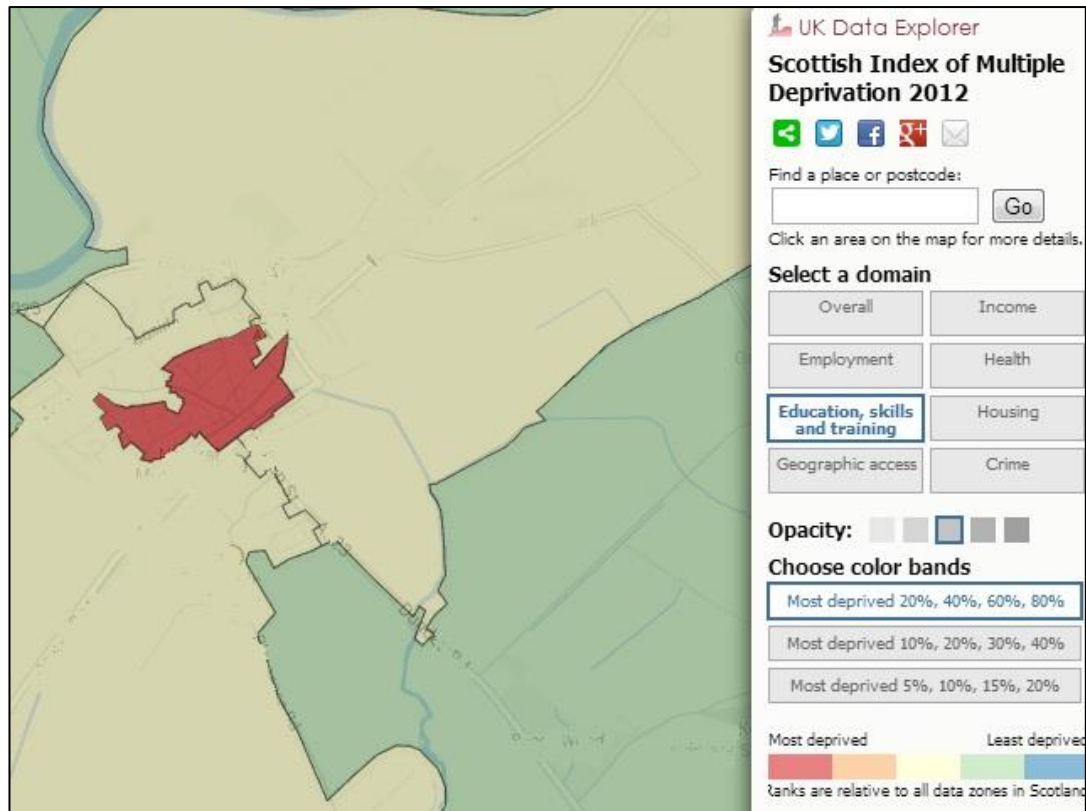


Figure 4.9: Anonymised map of the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation for education, skills and training in Crian

There are therefore some clear quantifiable, spatial differences between Abanoch and Crian, with Abanoch appearing to be less socio-economically deprived than the accessibly rural location of Crian. This is something that was reinforced by the qualitative arrival stories (see section 5.2).

Abanoch and Crian therefore appear to offer somewhat contrasting versions of ‘the rural’ and were therefore selected in order to contextualise ASB. Within the research design, careful consideration was also given to both the methods being used and the order that they were used in. The next sections of this chapter explore the methods utilised in this study, examining the research methods used with each participant group, the ethical and methodological challenges faced with conducting research with these groups and some of the ways that these were negotiated.

4.6 Researching with community members

In order to explore research questions regarding the nature and impact of ASB in Abanoch and Crian, it was important to develop community contacts early in both locations. I spent a considerable amount of time in each of the case study locations working out the rhythms of the locality, the places people tend to go and the times

that local cafés and shops were busiest. I did this by going to the case study locations at different times and on different days, discovering, for instance, a coffee shop hosted the Time Banking⁶ exchange on a Friday morning. In terms of identifying community gatekeepers in Abanoch and Crian, it was important to develop relationships with people who were involved in the community organisations - information that was gleaned from newspapers and the minutes of community change groups. Making initial contact with these individuals proved to be met with a mix of interest, suspicion and in some cases, rejection. As Crang and Cook (2007: 21) note, this makes for good ethnographic data because it allows you 'to assess aspects of your identity...it is necessary for you to consider how can be placed or positioned by these early contacts'. As the arrival stories in Crian and Abanoch make clear (section 5.2), the case studies felt different as a researcher and required different approaches when conducting fieldwork.

Abanoch was an easier location to 'talk the talk' (Crang and Cook, 2007) – partly because of my middle class upbringing and partly because the demographic were more willing to spend time chatting and were interested in the research. It therefore did not take long to establish a network of people who were helpful gatekeepers for accessing other individuals within the locality. There were three people, business owners, in particular – Tara⁷, the owner of a café which locals frequented, April, a gift shop owner and Kate, the owner of another business – who were all eventual participants, but also provided 'briefings' of 'insider information' of ASB and general gossip about Abanoch. They were invaluable for providing a way in to the community change organisations in the town and to point me to certain people whom it may be worth interviewing. In addition, they kept an eye out for me (the shopkeeper even keeping relevant newspaper cuttings for me) and generally provided me with weekly updates from the community.

In Crian, these relationships were not so easily made. The three key informants in this case study location were people I got to know by going along to the youth club, and they were therefore less forthcoming about the community change organisations

⁶ Timebanking was a new initiative set-up in both Abanoch and Crian at the time fieldwork was being completed. As the website explains, 'Timebanking is a means of exchange used to organise people and organisations around a purpose, where time is the principal currency. For every hour participants 'deposit' in a timebank, perhaps by giving practical help and support to others, they are able to 'withdraw' equivalent support in time when they themselves are in need' (Timebanking, 2014).

⁷ In order to protect the identity of participants, all names in the thesis are pseudonyms

and helping identify potential community interview candidates. Instead, I attended two community council meetings which led to me volunteering with the organisers of a coffee morning for the Olympic Torch Relay. This allowed me to get a bit of an ‘in’ to the community, showed I was willing to help them at events and enabled me to have a number of informal discussions.

Having identified initial gatekeeper participants within the community, semi-structured interviews were selected as the best method to ‘get to grips with the contexts and contents of different people’s everyday social, cultural, political and economic lives’ (Crang and Cook, 2007: 60). Focus groups were utilised in cases where gatekeepers were part of community change organisations, whilst semi-structured interviews were conducted with individual members of the community.

4.6.1 Semi-structured interviewing

Semi-structured interviews tend to be the most common way of generating qualitative data (Bryman, 2008). They typically contain a number of common factors, which Mason (2002) argues, rely on an informal style – a ‘conversation with a purpose’ (Bedford and Burgess, 2001), a thematic topic-centred narrative approach and the belief that knowledge is both situated and contextual, something which was important for this project. There are a number of reasons that semi-structured interviewing was used in this project.

Ontologically, people’s knowledge, views and understandings were important for answering the research questions outlined in chapter three, something which qualitative interviewing aims to explore. Epistemologically, an important part of analysing ASB in rural locations relates to talking interactively with people and asking them questions, and analysing their construction of the discourse of ASB. As Mason (2002) notes, accounts from semi-structured interviews require self-reflection from the researcher, as people’s experiences and understandings of ASB can only be (re)constructed. Nevertheless, accepting that knowledge is situated, contextual and interactional enables the ‘depth, nuance, complexity and roundedness in data’ (Mason, 2002: 65). Semi-structured interviews were conducted with twelve community members with varying social characteristics in both Abanoch and Crian, as outlined in Table 4.4:

Community Interviews	Name (Pseudonym)	Age	Job	Interview Location
Abanoch	Betty	90s	Retired	Participants House
	Sheila	40s	Unemployed	Coffee shop, Abanoch
	Harry	40s	Business owner	Local business, Abanoch
	Tara and Katy	50s and 20s	Business owner/ Staff	Local business, Abanoch
	Zara	40s	Lollypop lady	Participants House
	Jack	20s	Tourist board	Local business, Abanoch
	Kate	30s	Business Owner	Local business, Abanoch
	Lesley	30s	Business Owner	Participants House
	Isobel	70s	Worked in library	Library
	Molly	70s	Retired	Participants House
	Janet	80s	Retired	Tesco
Abanoch	12 Respondents – 2 Males, 10 females			
Crian	Name (Pseudonym)	Age	Job	Location
	Bert	50s	Retired	Participants House
	Jeff	20s	Unemployed	Community cafe
	Glenda	40s	Entrepreneur	Participants House
	Jean	50s	Hall Keeper	Participants House
	Barbara	30s	Community change group	Office
	Amy and Peggy	40s and 40s	Charity/community board members	Community café
	Mark	50s	Community café manager	Community café
	Shivon	40s	Librarian	Library
	Gillian	40s	Support worker	Library
	Harriet and Charlotte	30s and 20s	Supermarket and student	Community café
Total Crian	12 Respondents (3 males, 9 females)			

Table 4.4: Interview respondents Abanoch and Crian

Using a purposive sampling technique is ‘essentially strategic and entails an attempt to establish a good correspondence between research questions and sampling’, meaning that the main interview participants are selected on the basis that they are relevant to the research questions (Bryman, 2008). Finishing interviews with the question ‘who else do you think I should speak to?’ allowed me to ‘snowball’ and use contacts given by one participant to help recruit another. As Table 4.4 highlights, although the respondents range in age and job, far more females were recruited than males. This was in part because these community members were recruited typically by ‘snowballing’ in local shops and cafés. Although attempts were made to recruit more males, particularly by going to the local pubs, ultimately as Table 4.4 shows, females were more willing to participate in the interviews. I did capture the views of a number of male participants through other means, including in focus groups and when doing informal participant observation in the village pub. Dunn (2005) warns that snowball sampling can lead to respondents being drawn from a narrow circle of likeminded individuals, and this was something I sought to avoid by drawing participants from a wide range of socio-economic backgrounds, aged between 21 and 90 with different experiences of ASB (Table 4.4).

I followed the advice of a number of authors prior to and during the semi-structured interviews (Bryman, 2008; Crang and Cook, 2007; Mason, 2002). Having identified individual gatekeepers, a number of other individuals who were involved within the community structure of Abanoch and Crian were identified. Approaching individuals in the community required an informal approach, which involved gaining their trust and me attending a number of meetings before the interview was conducted. In all cases, careful consideration was given to where the interviews take place, as ‘people’s identities are very much immersed in/between the different spaces and places of their lives’ (Crang and Cook, 2007: 65). This invariably meant meeting at the participant’s place of work or a mutually agreeable venue (e.g. Coffee shop), but on occasions, interviews were conducted at the house of the participant. Balancing personal safety with making sure that the respondent felt comfortable with the arrangements was important, thus if I was interviewing at a house, I always let someone know the address and would phone them once it was complete.

The interview process itself consisted of a semi-structured interview schedule being prepared (see Appendix 2). Interviews were conducted in a location and at a time

that was best suited the participant. When conducting the interviews I followed Rubin & Rubin (1995) stages of interviewing, which highlights the importance of building rapport, yet remaining respectful and professional. Using a smile and a handshake to put the participant at ease is important in the beginning. It is then important to introduce the research, reinforce the fact that the participant will be anonymous, and seek permission to record the interview. In my experience, this part of the interview was often fractured, with participants more often than not, beginning to discuss ASB before I had the chance to ask to turn on the recorder. On these occasions, the ordering of questions was often hastily reworked in my mind, this enabled the interview to follow the train of thought of the subject and maintain a spontaneous feel, while keeping the interview focused (Bryman, 2008). In other cases, a basic contextual question followed by some broad discussion about the term ‘anti-social behavior’ would help relax the participant. The final stage of the interview would be signaled by a final question of ‘is there anything you would like to add or is there anyone else you think I should speak to’, after which the Dictaphone would be turned off and I would thank him or her for their participation. I would then ask the participant to sign a sheet which stated they had agreed to being interviewed and being recorded (see Appendix 3). I would leave them with a sheet with my contact details on it and with written information about the project. A one-page summary was written up after the interview and the interviews were transcribed as soon after as possible. Along with the interviews, an extensive fieldwork diary was also kept, with my thoughts often being recorded onto the Dictaphone on the car journey back to Dundee for later write up.

4.6.2 Focus groups with community change organisations

In addition to the community interviews in both case study locations, a number of focus groups were also conducted with community change organisations (see section 8.3.1). Although each organisation has slightly different roles within the case study areas, I was most interested in speaking to groups in both case study locations whose aim was to improve the look, feel and atmosphere in the villages. In total, focus groups were carried out with two community change organisations in each location as listed in Table 4.5:

Crian	Mix of groups	Name (age)
Forward Crian	1 Female 5 Males	Janet (50s) Darryl (60s) Bert (70s) Mark (50s)* Jock (60s) Stu (50s)
Pride Crian	3 Females 1 Male	Amy (40s)* Maiya (18) Carole (40s) Bill (60s)
Abanoch		
Pride Abanoch	3 Females 2 Male	Issy (70s) Mags (70s) Betty (60s) George (60s) Bill (70s)
Abanoch Business Association	3 participants	Roxy (30s) April (60s) Chantelle (20s)

*Interviewed individually as well as part of focus group

Table 4.5: Community change focus group participants

The four groups were selected because they represented organisations which sought to improve the fabric of the case study locations. The two groups in Abanoch had a similar remit to the two in Crian, seeking to reduce crime, mainly by improving the situational measures and mechanisms by making the respective villages more pleasant. Although there are theoretical challenges to consider in relation to ‘community’, these groups were identified by others in Abanoch and Crian and the police as forming an important part of the community response to level ASB and consequently are an important part of this study.

Focus groups are useful because they reject ‘the grand narrative’ and instead focus on a dispersed and discontinuous set of narratives during participant interactions (Barbour, 2008), producing a different kind of collective data, rather than data which is individually produced. One of the key advantages of using focus groups over interviews is that they provide an informal way of participants to interact with each other, particularly in groups where individuals know each other. They are therefore considered a more empowering method for participants to be a part of (Barbour, 2008). It is important to examine how people work out their thoughts and feelings about certain measures in *social contexts*, through their interactions in focus groups

(Crang and Cook, 2007), because as earlier chapters have explored, this thesis examines ASB in a context dependent way and therefore the social interactions of a focus group setting help illuminate these themes. Using a relatively unstructured method, focus groups allow participants to discuss their experiences of ASB in a somewhat relaxed manner (Bryman, 2008). Moreover, they allow the researcher to develop an understanding of why people feel the way they do and allow fellow participants to interact with each other, something which can lead to more engaging conversations than the question-followed-by-answer format of interviews (Bryman, 2008). Whilst interviews are useful for exploring ASB in a confidential and in-depth manner with individuals who may be reluctant to speak in a focus group, or have a more detailed knowledge or an issue, focus groups are useful for groups of people who already know one another. Once an individual has heard other people within a focus group talk about their particular experiences, he/she often feels the need to qualify, defend or modify their point of view. This is something that comes less easily in an interview setting (Bryman, 2008).

In addition, in this type of research with young people and community groups, it removes the intensity of a one-on-one interview and can allow more natural interactions amongst friendship and professional groups (Schäfer and Yarwood, 2008). This is perhaps because in focus groups the moderator often ‘relinquishes a certain amount of control to the participants’ and therefore the issues that concern participants tend to surface more readily (Bryman, 2008: 353). Participants debating and challenging each other’s view mean that there is a more realistic chance that the researcher gets a realistic impression of the participant’s views. This interaction allows the researcher to view the ways in which individuals collectively make sense of a phenomenon and construct meanings around it (Crang and Cook, 2007).

However, as Crang and Cook (2007: 90) note, ‘focus group research [...] is fraught with difficulties’. Careful planning is essential, particularly in terms of selecting participants, where careful consideration needs to be given to how to maintain and enable the ‘interchanges, banter and free exchanges of ideas that feature in successful focus groups’ (Crang & Cook, 2007: 92). It is important to think about how many focus groups are needed and the social dynamics of each of the groups. Most textbooks suggest choosing groups of people that are in already formed social groups can be useful because certain social barriers have already been removed.

Although there is a risk that such groups may be too homogeneous to reflect diverse views needed in a focus group, my experience suggests that being in groups where the individuals know each other promotes rather than discourages these interactions (Crang and Cook, 2007: 92).

Focus groups are therefore ‘a useful way of working out people’s thoughts and feelings about a matter in social contexts’ (Crang & Cook, 2007: 90). By bringing together like-minded individuals who are active within Abanoch and Crian, I explored the nature and impact of, and responses to, ASB in these two localities, focusing on the ways that the community change groups felt that they could impact upon ASB within their community. In particular, Forward Crian and Pride Abanoch had a mix of locals and incomers, and I was keen to explore this dynamic with the group. The groups were easy to recruit, because the members met on a monthly basis. Having made a key contact in each of the groups, I asked to attend one of their committee meetings, and asked to be put on their agenda. This allowed me to have time to explain the project to the group and set up a subsequent focus group date. The first focus group I organized was in Abanoch and I discovered that getting people to commit to a time and date at this initial meeting enabled greater participation. Leaflets were given to potential participants who had my contact details on them and further information about the project (see Appendix 3). This was successful - in the two focus groups this happened in (Forward Crian and Pride Abanoch), the attendances were higher with people being more willing to participate when the focus group occurred immediately before the committee meeting. The other groups were unwilling to commit at first meeting and had to be organized in retrospect by phone and email.

The focus groups themselves were conducted using a topic guide (see Appendix 4). I explained the project and got verbal informed consent on tape. In the first focus group in Abanoch, I used a similar activity based set-up that I used with young people (see section 4.7.3) – albeit modified to take account of the fact that the participants were adults. However, the activity broke up the run of the conversation, the participants within this focus group did not engage with the activity based set-up and it made for a stilted discussion. Therefore, for the other three community focus groups, I used the topic schedule in Appendix 4 to discuss the themes and dropped the activity. In this situation, my role became much more about ‘allowing discussion

to develop along unusual, but potentially relevant lines, and intervening to keep the discussion on track' (Bedford & Burgess, 2001: 129). It was also important to make sure all voices were heard and that the chairperson of the interest groups (present in three of four focus groups) did not dominate conversations. At the end of the focus group, all participants were asked to sign a participation sheet (see Appendix 3) which stated that they agreed to be recorded and could withdraw from the study at any point without harm.

Overall, using a mixture of focus groups and interviews was helpful for exploring the community perspective of ASB in the case study areas. These discussions helped contribute to understanding the nature and impact of ASB in rural areas, with the focus groups being particularly helpful for understanding the ways that community change organisations in rural Scotland respond to ASB. When combined with observations in my research diary, they helped supplement the research conducted with the young people in the youth clubs. The next section is going to examine the participant observation and focus groups I carried out with young people.

4.7 Researching with young people

As chapter two explored, ASB is highlighted as a 'youth problem', reinforced by the number of youth diversionary schemes and youth enforcement options that are in place (see Crawford & Lister, 2007; Nixon et al., 2006; Nixon et al., 2010; Stephen & Squires, 2004). A key part of this project was therefore to engage with young people in the case studies and understand how they perceive ASB and the impact that it has on them. Both young people who were identified by youth workers, the school and police as engaging in ASB and young people who have not been identified as anti-social participated. This section of the chapter explores the two methods used to understand the nature and impact of ASB on young people and reflect on the procedural, ethical and methodological challenges of researching with young people. As Alderson & Morrow (2004) note, the process of gaining access to young people is inextricably linked to ethical practices. I decided to use the approach adopted by other studies examining ASB in the city and use youth clubs as a vehicle for carrying out research with young people. Although this risked alienating anti-social young people who do not attend youth clubs from the study, in both case study areas, I knew from doing participant observation and from the discussions I had with the youth workers that a significant proportion of those attending the youth clubs had

been in trouble with the police and had participated in ASB. Having spent three months in each youth club in each case study location, a number of young people were keen to take part in the focus groups and in conjunction with the youth workers, the young people and my knowledge of the social dynamics of groups of people, I was confident that I would be getting a good cross section of young people by using youth clubs as gate keepers.

4.7.1 Ethical and methodological considerations when researching with young people

All research with young people involves negotiating a complex web of ethical and methodological issues (Hopkins, 2010), considerations which needed to be at the forefront of my mind when conducting this research. Alongside gaining University ethical approval (see Appendix 5), a number of other key considerations need to be taken into account when researching with young people. As Hopkins (2010) notes, ethics is about a set of principles and rules of conduct, while Matthews (2001: 117) argues that ‘ethics is about power – what is recognized as ethical depends on values, moral judgments, perceived goals and intended outcomes’. These issues should be central in designing research with young people.

Consideration was given to how young people were consulted, at what point in the research process this would happen and in what ways this would be done. This began with considering the way that young people were accessed for the purposes of research (Hopkins, 2010). Having identified the case study locations, access was negotiated through youth workers. This involved meeting with the workers, discussing the research, the youth clubs taking photocopies of my disclosure forms and reaching agreements on research timeframes. In the case of Abanoch, the youth club had participated in a number of research projects previously and there was an established route for gaining the appropriate clearances. In Crian, the process was less established, leading to some of the ethical challenges, which on one occasion, led to an untrained volunteer end up in a difficult situation, something which is reflected upon in section 5.5.

4.7.1.1 Gaining informed consent

Gaining informed consent is a key consideration when doing research with young people, in particular, including parental consent. It is generally accepted, under Scots law, that one parent or carer must consent to the research of a child under the

age of 16 (and under the age of 18 in the University of Dundee's ethics guidelines). Masson (2004: 180) indicates that '[r]equiring parental consent can also be seen as a denial of young people's right to be heard to make decisions for themselves'. Hopkins (2010: 58) highlights how research with young people is often 'tokenistic and short-term', and that young people should be 'empowered through participation in the research process', meaning it was important to obtain consent from the young people directly. Moreover, undertaking this strand of the research through the respective youth clubs, which agreed to act in *loco parentis*, and by following youth club and University guidelines, sound ethical and methodological practice were followed. The youth clubs both had signed parental permission for every young person attending the youth club to be allowed to participate in youth club activities, something that included research activities. It was agreed with the youth club leaders in both case study sites that this research could be considered under that remit. In addition, many of the young people attending these youth clubs live chaotic lives, where getting written parental consent from the parents would not only have been impossible, but would have undermined any sense of empowerment I was hoping to achieve by listening to young people. Young & Barrett (2001) discuss the ethical implications of working with street children, where there is no possibility of gaining informed parental consent, and argue that researchers should treat young people as active agents for whom informed parental written consent is not always possible to achieve. Working through organisations, such as youth clubs, mitigates most of the ethical concerns around not getting written parental consent (Hopkins, 2010), particularly where *loco parentis* is in place. Nevertheless, over the course of the study, I met most of the parents and guardians of the young people participating in the study and obtained verbal consent from them. In six cases, I went onto interview the parents of young people who participated in the study.

In terms of gaining informed consent of the young people, as Gallagher (2009: 136) cited in Hopkins (2010: 61) highlights, there are a number of stages to gaining informed consent including:

- Introducing yourself clearly, stating who you are;
- Using an information leaflet as a basis for discussion, asking young people if they have any questions;
- Emphasise that they do not have to take part, that they do not have to say anything or answer anything if they do not want to;
- When recording interviews, tell young people why and who will listen to the recordings and ask them how they feel about this

In this project, these principles were followed. I gave everyone attending the youth club a leaflet at the beginning of the fieldwork process (see Appendix 6), and for those who took part in the focus groups, I asked for their informed consent on tape and asked them to put their names on a sheet if they felt ok for me to use the information in the discussions for my project. I emphasised that they did not have to take part, they could leave at any time (which two subsequently did) and explained the process of recording the discussion, again emphasising that the process was voluntary.

4.7.1.2 Confidentiality and anonymity

In terms of the foundations of ethical research, confidentiality and anonymity are as important as informed consent. As Hopkins (2010: 62-63) notes ‘anonymity refers to the protection of the specific identities of individuals involved within the research process, whereas confidentiality refers to the promises not to pass on to others, specific details pertaining to a person’s life’.

In this project, locations and individuals are anonymised, and I sought to maintain confidentiality as far as possible. I emphasised to the young people that whilst everything they said would be treated confidentially, if they disclosed something which would harm himself or herself or someone else I would divulge this information to youth leaders. However, I was careful to guide the conversations and focus groups in such a way that the young people knew I was not interested in individual names of people who were undertaking illegal activities, and as such, I was not required to break confidentiality and disclose anything that raised a concern. As the ‘World Jampionship’ story (see section 5.5) illustrates, this phase of the fieldwork with young people involved participating as much as possible in the youth clubs and attempting to capture the ontological complexity of the lives of young people (van Blerk et al., 2009) and discuss the project when the opportunities arose.

4.7.1.3 Positionalities and power relations

The multiple power relations and positions of the researcher are particularly pertinent when researching with young people. Chapter five explores the ethical challenges of positionality in more detail, however, reflecting on and recognising the multiple power relations that exist within the research context is important. My own position as a twenty something, middle-class, white male researcher meant that I had power in relation to the young people and that may be influencing the informed

consent of the young people (Hopkins, 2010). This was exacerbated because, despite giving out leaflets and constantly explaining who I was, many of the young people assumed 'I was something to do with the police' (Field diary, Abanoch, 04/09/11).

Enjoying chatting and playing football made it easier to connect with the young males by playing sport. I found the girls overall took longer to engage in informal conversations. I experienced similar feelings of unease at times as Horton (2001), where my position as a male interested in the views of young people relating to ASB created situations where I 'muddled through with some angst', albeit under the guidance of very helpful youth workers. Conducting research with young people is not unique in highlighting the relationship between methods and ethics, yet as van Blerk et al., (2009) notes, researchers working with young people are 'often frustrated by a normative ethics that defines children as 'vulnerable'. The next sections explore the methods I used in order to explore their multiple understandings of ASB.

4.7.2 Participant observation with young people

An extensive amount of time was spent conducting participant observation with young people in youth clubs. Access to youth clubs was negotiated through meetings with the youth workers. As Bushin (2009) explains, it is helpful to view gatekeepers as someone with whom to discuss and negotiate, rather than someone whose presence has to be overcome. This lay at the heart of my engagement with youth workers, where I would discuss week-to-week when I was going to attend the youth clubs. Initially this consisted of 'hanging out' with young people – trying not to intrude and being aware that I was very much in the youth club on their terms. As I got to know the young people, I began to adopt certain roles, where for example in Abanoch, I would be most involved with the indoor football games, frequently refereeing and participating. This, in turn, however, led to complex interactions between me and the young people, explored in more detail in chapter five.

The amount of time spent in each youth club is highlighted in Table 4.6 below:

	Time spent conducting participant observation with young people
Abanoch	23 hours
Crian	28 hours

Table 4.6: Hours spent conducting participant observation in youth clubs in Abanoch and Crian

Abanoch was my first case study and I attended the two youth clubs over a period of three months. Depending on the schedule of the youth clubs, I would attend the youth clubs either once or twice a week for a period, on average, of two hours. Some weeks, for instance in the October holidays, the youth clubs were not running and therefore no participant observation in youth clubs occurred. In terms of the practicalities of conducting participant observation in youth clubs, having not spent much time around teenagers, I was quite nervous initially about the lack of structure and role I would have within the youth clubs. Despite having a carefully constructed set of themes to think about when conducting the participant observation (see Appendix 7), I was very aware of my own subjectivity. As time progressed, I became more fully integrated within the ongoing projects, politics and ‘performances’ (Cook and Crang, 1995) taking place within the youth clubs and became more comfortable. As chapter five highlights, this resulted in some challenging situations, with me taking part and winning the children’s world jampionship in one case and witnessing a tense interaction between a youth worker and on a young person in another. However, I developed a friendship with the youth leaders in both locations and I therefore discussed these challenges with them.

Negotiating my role in the youth clubs emerged as a key theme in my research diary – and in particular, the challenges I had around juggling informed consent, confidentiality, power, an awareness of the potential to cause harm and being inadvertently coercive. Thus, despite having the importance of informed consent firmly at the front of my mind at all times with respect to my encounters with young people at the youth club, there were many situations over the course of the fieldwork that it was impossible to gain informed consent while conducting participant observation or explain my role to all those that were present (Reeves, 2009).

Although I was introduced as a ‘university researcher’ by the youth leaders on my first night and I gave out my leaflets (Appendix 6), there were numerous occasions

throughout my ethnographic engagements that people questioned my role ('who are you?'), my status ('do you live in Abanoch?') and the research project. Although this was challenging, as Crang & Cook (2007: 45) note, participant observation requires most researchers to make 'uneasy and improvised' ethical decisions as real-life situations unfold. It allowed me to consistently reiterate and renegotiate my role within the youth clubs and eventually become more embedded. It also allowed me to open up dialogue about the project and engage in informal discussions about young person's experiences of ASB in the case study sites. When having these discussions, I was able to ask the young people if they would be potentially interested in taking part in focus groups, albeit not calling them focus groups and always mindful that despite reiterating that I was not a youth leader, many assumed I was either a police officer or youth worker. This has consequences for the power dynamics between the young people and me as a researcher.

4.7.3 Focus groups with young people

Having spent a significant amount of time conducting participant observation and getting to know the various young people attending the youth clubs, there were two groups of young people in both Abanoch and Crian that were willing to take part in focus groups (See Table 4.7). In order to build up trust and rapport with the young people and to begin to understand the 'inter-subjective truths' (Crang & Cook, 2007: 14) that help reveal the larger social, cultural and political processes around ASB in rural Scotland, the focus groups were carried out after the four months of participant observation had occurred. Whilst participant observation is useful for providing detailed insight into the everyday interactions of participants (Brewer, 2000), focus groups allow for a more structured conversation to occur.

Although the opportunity to participate in focus groups was available to anybody attending the youth clubs, the reality was that a mixed group of thirteen to seventeen year olds agreed to participate (see Table 4.7). The participant observation allowed me to determine which participants had been involved in ASB, allowing for a good mix of young people across the four groups. Having said that, the focus groups were made up primarily of self-selecting friendship groups, which helped with conversation within the focus groups:

Abanoch	Mix of groups	Names (Age)
13-14 year olds	4 Boys 1 Girl	Kris (13) Campbell (13) Sam (13) Lee (14) Kelsi (14)
15-17 year olds	2 Boys 3 Girls	Allan (15) Cammy (16) Hayley (17) Sarah (15) Becca (16)
Crian		
13-15 year olds	3 Boys 3 Girls	Bruce (13) Steve (14) Nathan (15) Bex (14) Zoe (14) Jill (15)
15-16 year olds	3 Boys 1 Girl	William (15) Trev (16) Fraz (16) Traci (16)

Table 4.7: List of participants of young persons' focus group Abanoch and Crian

The focus groups were organised with the help of the youth leaders. They advised that a practical incentive needed to be provided for the young people that had already decided to take part. In Abanoch, the youth worker opened up the youth club on his day off and provided free pizzas. In Crian, the focus groups took place on a regular youth club night and the youth worker provided biscuits and chocolate. Recruitment was a challenge in Crian, where three participants who agreed to attend ended up getting drunk and were too inebriated to participate. This proved to be a complex situation, where I had to make a judgment with the youth worker about whether to let them participate. Due to a strict 'no alcohol' rule at the youth club, it was decided they were not allowed to be part of the focus groups (although they are included in the participant observation).

A key concern for me, given that we would be talking about potentially sensitive subjects, was the confidentiality of participants and group dynamics. Given that the young people had, by this stage, known me for a period of months, focus group participants were in self-selecting friendship and committee groups, thus participants knew each other. The two focus groups in Abanoch, were formed from young people on the youth club committee, thus they knew each other and the group

dynamics were relatively easy to achieve. In Crian, the participants were friends and hung out together. This helped with the rapport within the groups and meant that individuals were comfortable discussing ASB. In the introduction to the focus group, I ensured the anonymity of participants and reiterated that I was interested in general thoughts about the nature, impact and responses to ASB from their points of view; I was not interested in hearing about specific ASB and crimes that people had committed. I did this both to try and avoid potential disclosure of criminal activity, something which I explained would be reported to the youth worker, and to try and avoid potential arguments about 'who did what when' from breaking out. I also sought verbal informed consent on tape at the start of the focus group and signed consent from the young people at the end (see Appendix 8).

The focus groups themselves were carefully thought through and activity based in an attempt to keep them fun and interactive. As the focus group schedule in Appendix 9 shows, they consisted of three activities – beginning with the young people writing down all the things they associate with the term 'anti-social behaviour'. Appendix 10 shows an example of the resulting mind map. The second activity, drawing on Innes (2004), sought to explore which forms of ASB caused most harm and which forms of ASB occurred most frequently. I developed fifteen scenarios based on the Government's typology of ASB and adapted those to specific contexts in Abanoch and Crian. The young people were then asked to 'rank' them by putting them on a triangle (see Appendix 11). This worked really well with the older groups and led to some interesting conversations. The first younger group understandably got confused about the difference between 'harm' and 'how often ASB occurred' and in retrospect, the amount of reading in the scenarios meant that this group did not engage fully with this activity. I therefore modified it for the younger group in the second case study area, simplifying the question to rank the scenarios based on 'what they considered to be the worst scenario in Crian'. In reality, this was still too complex, but the discussions, captured on a Dictaphone, are still interesting and enlightening. The third part of the focus group focused on the spatiality and temporality of ASB. An A3 map was printed of the village and the young people were asked to identify where and when the incidents that they had been discussing in the second activity occurred (See Appendix 12). My role as facilitator was mainly to guide conversation and include those who were quieter – although in one particularly

boisterous focus group, my role became more about trying to keep the willing participants on task and prevent fighting from breaking out. At the end of the focus group, I got the young people to put their names on a sheet of A3 paper and gave them another leaflet to take away with them which had my contact details on it and more information about the project.

Overall, the focus groups supplemented the hours of participant observation carried out with young people to help inform my understanding of their views of the nature and impact of ASB in the two case studies. The next section explores the research conducted with the police, something which also requires careful consideration of methods.

4.8 Researching with the police

Another group of participants, which required careful ethical and methodological consideration, was the police. This section highlights the process undertaken to conduct research with the police, whilst Chapter Five explores some of the ethical and methodological challenges and offers a critical reflection about the process of conducting research with the police.

Gaining access to the police can be a challenging process, and when approaching the police for permission to carry out this project, I was very aware of the suspicion that the police often view researchers with (Reiner, 2010), with many previous studies highlighting systemic failings within the police (see, for example, Punch (1985)). However, initially these barriers were largely absent in this project. Being affiliated with the Scottish Institute of Policing Research (SIPR) proved to be helpful for opening up access channels within the police force and overcoming the initial newcomer stages outlined by Janes (1961). The Superintendent of the police force in which Abanoch and Crian are located, put me in touch with the divisional Inspectors in both case study areas, who subsequently put me in touch with the community Sergeants. In Abanoch, this was a straightforward process and for the duration of my police participant observations, I arranged everything through the community police Constable (PC).

In Crian, I experienced the bureaucratic nature of the police first-hand. To begin with, access to the police was also straightforward. However the community PC only worked a Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday dayshift, which meant that when

they were on-shift, a great deal of their time was taken up by court, abstractions and catching up on paperwork. This situation was not ideal for observing the police interaction with the community and exploring ASB. It was therefore suggested by the community Sergeant that I should accompany the response officers who provide response cover to Crian when the community PC is off, and also accompany a full-time community officer in a neighbouring beat to Crian. Although not ideal, this solution provided the best compromise, although it also required a renegotiation of access.

Once the appropriate clearances were granted and I was solely interacting with the community officers in Abanoch and Crian areas, the process was much smoother. The hierarchical structure of the police means that if permission is granted from senior management, the access to the lower ranks is generally a lot easier, something which impacts on informed consent, reflected upon in chapter five. Indeed, Punch (1979) notes that bureaucratic structures such as the police can ‘work for you’ and help facilitate fieldwork as much as they can also hinder access. The next section examines the practicalities of undertaking participant observation with the police.

4.8.1 Participant observation with the police

As earlier sections have explored, participant observation developed out of ‘a concern to understand the world-views and the ways of life of actual people in the contexts of their everyday lived experiences’ (Crang and Cook, 2007: 37). Given that a core part of this project sought to understand the response of the police to ASB, it was important to spend time in the company of the police in order to grasp their understandings of ASB and their responses to ASB. The aim was to understand both the ‘formal and informal work practices which, together, constitute the police officer’s world of work’ (Norris, 1993: 126) in relation to policing ASB in rural Scotland. Indeed, Herbert (1997) argues that, not only is participant observation within the police a useful tool, but that it is the *only way* to actively research police work. In his work developing the theory of normative ordering of police officers, Herbert (1997: 7) argues that ‘a detailed explication of these motivations [the motivations that structure police territorial practices] is only possible via ethnographic study’. Participant observation was therefore used to provide richness to the data, allowing the interactions between police officers and the case studies to

be witnessed first-hand, rather than relying on evidence from the more formalised interviews and focus groups.

The participant observation sessions with the police started around eight weeks after starting fieldwork with the young people in Abanoch. This timescale was planned so that I could build up a rapport with young people, so that when they saw me with the police officer (inevitable in a small rural village), they would know that I was not a police officer, because I had already built up trust and understanding with them in the context of the youth club. This was only partially successful, with many young people assuming I was something to do with the police, despite me continuously explaining who I was. In Crian, there was a three-month gap between finishing the field work with young people and carrying out ride-alongs with the police due to challenges with getting clearance from the community Sergeant to carry out the fieldwork.

In total twelve participant observation sessions were carried out over the space of fifteen months in two ‘blocks’. This involved five ride-along sessions in the Crian area lasting around sixteen hours in total and seven ride-alongs in Abanoch lasting around thirteen hours in total. Some of these ride-alongs lasted only twenty minutes, in other cases they were two hours:

Type of patrol	Abanoch	Crian
Marked Police vehicle	7 Hours	9 Hours
Foot Patrol	3 Hours	5 Hours
In Police station	3 Hours	2 Hours
Total	13 Hours	16 Hours

Table 4.8: Summary of hours spent doing participant observation with the police

The participant observation sessions were focused mainly on Thursday through to Sunday – the times identified by the officers as when the ASB that they deal with in Abanoch and Crian was most likely to occur. As Table 4.8 highlights, they occurred over a mix of marked police car patrol, foot patrol and time spent in the police station. In contrast to much of the ethnographic policing research, which has taken place in an urban context and with a number of police officers (see for example the ground breaking work by Banton (1964) and Punch (1979) as well as more recent

studies by Herbert (1997), O'Neill (2005), Hadfield (2006), Brown (2013)), my case studies areas were in beat locations served by a single community police officer. These locations were also part of much bigger beat areas, meaning that the officers may only spend thirty minutes in a shift in Abanoch or Crian. My approach for organizing ride-alongs with the community officer therefore reflected having this single point of contact.

Instead of attending the briefing with the team 'on shift' and reporting to the Sergeant or Inspector, once I negotiated access I would meet the respective community officers at the respective case study locations. This was in part because the case study locations were in separate villages to the police stations and patrolling Crian and Abanoch only made up a part of the community officer's role. It therefore was more practical arranging to meet the officers within the case study locations, although on occasions I accompanied the officers to jobs in other locations. This was particularly true in Crian, where, as has already been noted, I worked most closely with an officer whose primary community beat was in a neighboring town. Once I had established rapport and contact with the community officer, I used the direct messaging function on Twitter to contact the officer directly and arrange ride-alongs. Due to patchy 3G reception in Abanoch, the officer gave me their personal mobile number to contact them and arrange ride-alongs.

Prior to taking part in the ride-alongs, I developed a list of themes to think about when conducting this fieldwork (see Appendix 13). Note taking was something I found challenging throughout the ride-alongs; it was never a natural thing to be doing when having conversations with a single-crewed officer. When possible, I took notes when the police officer was busy doing other work or in the lulls in conversation. Hadfield (2006: 274) highlights this challenge, often using the bathroom as a place in which to record 'events and snippets and conversation when fresh in my mind'. I would often put on my Dictaphone when driving home and record my thoughts, observations and important information in relation to the themes verbally which I could write up as soon as possible when I got home. This was often the next day, as it was usually late when I finished the ride-along. The final group of people that I conducted research with are the key stakeholders in both case study locations, which included police officers who managed the community officers.

4.9 Researching with key stakeholders

In addition to interviewing members of the community, a number of other key stakeholder interviews were carried out: five interviews were conducted with police officers of varying rank, eight individuals employed in various local authority positions which are related to the prevention of and response to ASB in Abanoch and Crian (some of these were conducted together) and two youth workers employed by a charity in Abanoch. This is summarized in Table 4.9:

Interview Participant	Number interviewed	Abanoch	Crian
Sergeant	2	2	
Inspector	2	1	1
Chief Superintendent	1	Works across both locations	
Third sector employed youth worker	2	2	
Local authority employed youth worker	3	1	2
Manager Anti-social investigations team	1	Works across both locations	
Safer communities Officer	1	Works across both locations	
Community Safety Partnerships Manager	1	Works across both locations	
Council Housing Officer	1	Works across both locations	
Community Capacity Builder	1	Works across both locations	

Table 4.9: Summary of police, third sector and local authority interview participants

The police officers interviewed were the direct line managers of the community police officers in Abanoch and Crian. The recruitment was done mostly via a Superintendent who acted as a gatekeeper for police contacts, with the participants being approached via email. In one case recruitment happened the other way round and a Sergeant was recruited via the community officer.

The interview schedules for the police were designed to allow officers to explain how the rural context affects the response of the police to ASB and to triangulate the experiences I witnessed in my participant observation with the community officers. In particular, an important theme to emerge related to the ways that the police manage their limited resources over such large beat areas. These interviews were completed after the participant observation with community officers and I was therefore able to ask about some of the pertinent issues to emerge from that fieldwork. As Bryman (2008) notes, it is important to engage the participant,

particularly at the start of the interview - thus the interview schedule itself (see Appendix 14) began with general questions exploring the officer's background and years of service. The questions would then explore the nature of ASB in the case study areas, the impact this had upon the community and the policing responses to ASB.

A similar interview schedule was used in all five of these interviews, however in order to reflect the different roles that the more senior ranks have, the questions were modified. For example, I was interested in partnership working at local authority level when interviewing the Chief Superintendent (because from interviewing other stakeholders, this seemed to be important consideration for how ASB is tackled in rural Scotland), whilst I was more interested in the day-to-day management of the policing response when I interviewed the Sergeants. The five interviews were semi-structured in nature and recorded on a Dictaphone. They were carried out following the principles highlighted by Rubin & Rubin (1995) earlier in this chapter (section 4.6.1) and conducted during day shift and back-shift at a time and location convenient to the officer. This was generally at the start of the shift, once they had conducted their briefings. I gained verbal consent at the start of the interview and written consent at the end.

A total of seven other interviews were carried out with a range of stakeholders in Abanoch and Crian. The youth workers have a unique insight into the role young people have in ASB in the case study locations. Two of the youth workers also sit on the community safety partnerships, providing a useful perspective of ASB from a community planning angle. In addition, four of the five youth workers interviewed have worked across both communities and so they provided an insight into both case study locations. This clearly had implications for the anonymisation of participants; however, in all cases the participants already knew of the other case study location through the participant observation work I had carried out. Recruitment for interviews of the youth workers was straightforward, because in all cases they acted as gatekeepers for the participant observation fieldwork I carried out with the young people. Interviews were carried out at the youth clubs in all cases and lasted about an hour each. Four of the five interviews occurred in pairs, not only because this is what the participants preferred, but also because the relationships between the youth workers allowed a more dynamic conversation to occur.

The other five participants were recruited initially through contacts in the police and then by snowball sampling of contacts (Mason, 2002), asking the question ‘are there other people that you recommend I speak to’ at the end of the interview. In addition, ASB policy related documents available clearly highlighted particular job roles which were important in understanding ASB in rural Scotland (e.g. the anti-social investigations team). Interviewing a housing officer was also important, given that the literature suggested that a significant amount of ASB is related to housing issues (Flint and Nixon, 2006). Although the interview schedules were similar, there were some differences between participants; the interview schedule for the youth workers, for example, explored their engagement with young people as a response to ASB, whilst interviews with the anti-social investigations team tended to focus on the formalised response of the local authority to ASB. The key research themes were, however, present in all the interview schedules. The interviews with the anti-social investigation teams were conducted at the council offices where the team are located. Interviews were conducted using the stages of interviewing noted by Rubin & Rubin (1995), with general opening questions, followed by more technical questions. Informed consent was sought verbally on tape at the start and written informed consent was gained at the end of the interview. It was important to reduce the risk of only interviewing likeminded individuals, a limitation of snowball sampling, by trying to interview people from different parts of the local authority and with different responsibilities. Interviews were recorded on a Dictaphone and transcribed as soon after the interview as possible.

4.10 Analysing the data: Theoretical and coding practices

As fieldwork was complete, I took the first opportunity to write up my fieldwork diary (which over the two sites is 120,000 words long), get a feel for the data and if possible, transcribe it. Grounded theory is the most commonly associated analytical framework in relation to qualitative data collection, and by transcribing and analysing the data as the fieldwork was occurring, the process becomes an iterative one. As Bryman (2008) notes, analysis and data collection should not be seen as two distinct processes, but should inform each other.

Strauss and Corbin (1998: 12) note that grounded theory ‘means theory that was derived from the data, systematically gathered and analysed through the research process’, with the ‘method, data collection, analysis and eventual theory standing in

close relationship to one another'. There are no preconceived theories in mind, with the researcher allowing the data to 'speak', which means that grounded theories, because they are drawn from the data offer 'insight, enhance understanding and provide a meaningful guide to action' (Strauss and Corbin, 1998: 12). Analysis is the interplay between researchers and data and, having completed interviews, focus groups and participant observation, a number of stages were completed in order to analyse and code the data in line with a grounded theory approach.

Data was transcribed verbatim from my Dictaphone as soon as possible after the interview and uploaded into NVivo (see Appendix 15). The analysis of data was carried out to identify patterns through the data. A coding strategy was employed for the interviews, focus groups and field diaries. An initial ten transcripts were openly coded using the research questions, literature review and responses to identify the pertinent themes. The rest of the transcripts were then coded using these initial codes. Open coding initially allowed themes and codes to be built up. Line-by-line coding meant a large number of codes were developed; something which Holton (2007) argues is a necessary step. These were then amalgamated, reduced and in some cases reconsidered as the process continued. The researcher aims to remain as open as possible to what may emerge and gradually over time the descriptive and repetitive codes are amalgamated and become more critical. Open coding is important early on in the field work process because it allows codes to be developed which can in turn inform future fieldwork (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). Therefore, interviews were, where possible, transcribed and analysed as I went along. Axial coding, the process of relating codes to each other, via a combination of inductive and deductive thinking was utilised. Selective coding then allowed 'trees' of codes to be developed, allowing the researcher to progress from 'the empirical level by fracturing the data, then conceptualising the underlying pattern' of the data, which gives the researcher a 'condensed, abstract view with scope and dimension that encompasses otherwise seemingly disparate phenomena' (Holton 2007: 266).

Nvivo10 software package was used to facilitate the analysis of the data. Transcripts were imported into the software as 'sources' and then coded with 'nodes' (see Appendix 16 for a screenshot of Nvivo10). Once the transcripts had been coded, a number of different models, searches and queries can be conducted. A large number of the codes contained within NVivo relate to analytic codes developed from 'in

vivo' codes (Cope, 2003). In vivo codes refer to the exact phrases mentioned by participants, so for example, in relation to the responses of participants to ASB, 'scared' and 'there are never police here' are in vivo codes. Analytic codes emerge from the descriptive codes, with the above in vivo codes being linked to themes of 'emotional responses', 'rural resource implications' and 'willingness to respond'. Both responses were coded alongside one another and NVivo shows the number of different sources that are contained within a code. This allowed me to examine the predominant themes, which in turn helped to structure the empirical chapters of the thesis, allowing me to get a view across the data rather than just what was contained within subsections of it (Cope, 2003). So for instance, members of the community would complain about the lack of police responding to ASB in Abanoch, something which the police would also highlight as problematic. These similarities, nuances and differences are more readily highlighted through NVivo software.

There are, however, a number of challenges associated with analysing data in this manner (Cope, 2003). In particular, Cope (2003) identifies the fact the codes must be flexible when conducting analysis, particularly in relation to refining, consolidating and disregarding codes where necessary. The second challenge identified by Cope (2003) relates to reviewing the researchers interpretation of the data, something which she suggests can be limited by feeding the data back to participants to see whether they find it to be accurate. This was not possible to do in a formal manner in my project due to time constraints. However, I have continued to have dialogue with the youth workers, police officers and community members in both locations, returning a number of times to both locations. I have therefore had the opportunity to ask for their opinion in an ongoing manner on some of the themes developed through the coding structure. The third argument Cope (2003) makes relates to the importance of taking account of the 'silences, hesitations and gestures' within the transcripts. These were included in the transcript and within my field diary, along with descriptions highlighting the context in which the discussions took place, so for instance, when discussing a particularly upsetting incident of ASB, the pauses and thoughts were noted and included in the transcripts and coding.

4.11 Dissemination

A key part of ethical research, particularly research which involves young people, is ensuring that they have some form of feedback once the research is complete

(Ansell, 2009). In the case of this project, I also aim to present my findings at the quarterly meeting of local partnership agencies, and, if possible, run a workshop inviting members of the community, young people, local authority, third sector and the police to attend. I envisage people from both communities being invited, as a way of reducing the ethical problems associated with identification of participants in rural locations. Two factors make the dissemination processes more complicated: Firstly, the existing police forces have amalgamated into a single police force and many of my contacts have been ‘moved on’ as a result. Secondly, many of the ‘young people’ are no longer at the youth clubs, because they have left school and moved away. In addition, as one youth worker said to me ‘they probably don’t care anyway, would you have done at their age?’ It may therefore be difficult to disseminate this work to the same young people that attended my focus groups.

4.12 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the research design of this study, examining the rationale for including particular participant groups and using specific methods to examine the research questions. It also explores some of the practical challenges associated with using the methods in the context of rural Scotland, highlighting the ways that the data was analysed. The participants and the methods reflect the desire to examine ASB at the local scale and to focus on the rural context within this study. In order to focus on the nature and impact of, and responses to, ASB, a multifaceted methodological approach was taken with a number of different participant groups. The complexities of doing this kind of research with young people and the police meant that there were inevitably ethical challenges and difficult decisions and situations which were uncomfortable for the researcher. These have been briefly explored in this chapter; however, the next chapter offers a deeper critical reflection of using a multi-method mixed qualitative approach. Using vignettes to explore the challenges of building relationships, ethics and positionality in greater detail, this chapter underscores some of the nuances apparent in doing research in rural contexts.

5 Field stories: Reflections on rural participant observation

5.1 Introduction

As previous chapters have highlighted, the role of the rural context on the nature and impact of ASB is a central part of this thesis, something which is also important when examining my role as a researcher in the rural case study locations. Understanding rural space at the local scale allows for the examination of the research questions outlined in chapter three. However, conducting research into ASB in rural environments is something which I initially found challenging. Living as I do, in the relative anonymity of a city environment, conducting research in two small rural communities left me feeling recognisable as an outsider. An early extract from my research diary in Crian illustrates these feelings:

'It is strange walking about actively looking at people, locations, cars, teenagers hanging about on a park bench in the square in Crian. Although I'm meeting a woman at 1630 to talk about ASB, this still leaves me an hour to wander around in what feels like an aimless task. I am not going to anywhere in particular and the village is not big, so I end up doing endless circles, going for another coffee in the only coffee shop and sitting in the park. Carrying a backpack only increases the feeling that I stick out like a sore thumb...' [Field diary, Crian, 03/03/12]

Having discussed the methods used in the previous chapter, this chapter critically examines the 'messiness' of conducting qualitative research in rural communities. Although some of the methodological challenges associated with interviews, focus groups and participant observation were discussed previously, this chapter seeks to reflect in more depth on the roles and the relationships in the field. Through a series of vignettes, four ethical challenges will be explored: gaining the informed consent of the police, the complex role of the researcher in the youth club environment, unintentional deceit in the field and managing my relationship with research participants. The first section explores the challenges associated with arriving in a new place to do fieldwork.

5.2 The arrival story: First impressions of Abanoch and Crian

This section leads on from discussions about the case study localities. Herndl (1991: 325) describes the arrival story as 'entering the native scene...this trope establishes the fieldworker's presence, authorizes her account and then allows her to recede from the description that follows'. A number of studies in anthropology have

utilised ‘arrival’ stories, with Clifford Geertz’s work exploring the complexities of arriving in a Balinese village:

‘In Balinese villages nothing happens at all. People go on pounding, chatting, making offerings, staring into space, carrying baskets about while one drifts around feeling vaguely disembodied...my wife and I were still very much in the gust of wind stage, a most frustrating [stage]...they acted as if we simply did not exist, which, in fact,...we did not, or not yet anyway’ (Geertz, 1973: 412-15)

The idea of the arrival story forms a central narrative to the way that Geertz (1973) immerses himself into the community of Bali, it shapes his understanding of the community and the way that the community understand him. Although the context of rural Scotland is clearly different, I was not aiming to immerse myself into a different culture in the way that Geertz describes, the arrival stories from Crian and Abanoch differed:

With its many tourist shops, cafés and a wealthy middle class feel to it I happily spend time wandering around the shops, chatting to the owners and don’t feel like I am particularly noticed despite carrying a large rucksack and surveying the going-ons... [Field diary, Abanoch, 21/09/11]

I am immediately noticed as a non-local by the bakery lady – ‘you working here today, then’ – although this gives me the chance to explain the project, I find it disconcerting. It is the only café in the village, so spending time in the place makes me feel obvious, uncomfortable and difficult... [Field diary, Crian, 08/03/12]

Abanoch was the first case study location and as chapter three highlights, challenging the rural idyll is an important narrative lens with which to examine ASB in rural environments. The rural idyll is the dominant representation of Abanoch promoted by the tourist board, with the ‘VisitAbanoch’ website describing it as ‘the best of Scotland in a nutshell, there is something for all ages and interests here whether you seek adventure, cultural stimulation, wildlife, or well-being’. This is the sense I get when I first arrive in Abanoch:

I arrived in the pretty little village of Abanoch around 10am. First impressions of the place:

- *Picturesque - this is a rural community nestling in hills and it clearly hasn’t been affected by the recession in the same way as other town centres.*
- *Busy with older people - maybe because the schools are still on, but there are ‘lochs and glens’ tour buses and beige khaki pants everywhere.*

- *Feeling of money, nice shops and cafés including the art galleries, bookshop and two hunting and fishing shops and tweed hats all about.*

As a researcher, there are enough coffee shops and places to hide and watch the world...there are lots of tourists mulling about and so I don't feel like I stick out too much, I can ask questions and people just think I am an interested tourist up here to walk or take part in an outdoorsy activity...yet I still feel self-conscious, like I am spying surreptitiously... [Field diary, Abanoch, 16/06/11]

I go back up to Abanoch to meet with the main youth worker contact up there, and because it is the middle of the summer, the village is hoaching. I spot at least three buses – of the 'lochs and glens' style – parked up in Abanoch, and there seem to be loads of old folk wondering about – shop to shop, tea shop to art gallery. There is a definite feeling of money in Abanoch, the shops are independents and even just the types of cars parked in the square... there doesn't appear to be obvious deprivation... [Field diary, Abanoch, 21/08/11]

These two excerpts highlight the immediate feeling that Abanoch is primarily represented by through the tourist idyll. The tourist derived economy in Abanoch relies on imagery of the 'wild outdoors', underpinning what Urry, (2002) refers to as 'scenic tourism'. As Edensor (2006) notes, the tourist performances are geographically specific, with Abanoch marketing itself as a place where you can take part in a number of outdoor adventure activities. As Bell (2006: 156) concludes, 'the globalisation of tourist performances is today linked to the production of (and demand for) distinct tourist idylls'. The farmers market (see Figure 5.1), for instance, attracts a large number of people and has a wide range of expensive produce, typically not produced in Abanoch itself. Initial representations of the rural locality of Abanoch fit with these impressions of the idyll, albeit with an understanding that these initial impressions mask other issues within the community.



Figure 5.1: A picture of Abanoch village square with the Saturday farmers market (Image: Author)

The arrival story in Abanoch, therefore, became about fitting in with the norms of the community, for example, going to coffee shops at 11am because I discovered a number of members of the community would meet there. Fitting in with the rhythm of Abanoch was fairly straightforward as a white middle class male. Crian, on the other hand, felt very different. Notions of the idyll are far less apparent, with a sense that the community has a different focus to Abanoch:

I was meeting the local bobby who I met previously. When you arrive in Crian, you are immediately greeted by a set of traffic lights and the remains of a shutdown hotel. It isn't the most welcoming of starts!



Figure 5.2: Junction at entry to Crian (Image: Google Streetview)

There are a couple of things that strike you immediately upon entering Crian – firstly there are a distinct lack of signs to get to the town centre. So you are easily past the village before realising that it by passes the main centre. Once you reach the main street, there are less people about than in Abanoch, there is less of a tourist feel:



Figure 5.3: Access to Crian main street on day of Olympic torch relay (Image: Author)

The centre has been 'pedestrianised', but what this means is that people park on the double yellows. There are a number of shut shops right on this area –

including a prominent hotel, and the space is barricaded on one side by a main road. This means there is no real reason to cross this pedestrianized section. There is only one small bakery/cafe. [Field diary, Crian, 27/02/2012]



Figure 5.4: Crian square (Image: Google Streetview)

In order to try to fit in and see what's going on in the community like I did in Abanoch I decide to go to the bakery and have some lunch. The menu is limited – any sort of pie or sausage roll with chips and beans and the café tables are that kind of wipe clean stuck to the floor affair. The prices are on the wall in those star shape fluorescent cards you used to get in primary school. I decide to have some food, and take a seat in an awkward spot between the counter and the cutlery tray. There isn't anywhere to 'hide' here, but I order a sausage roll and beans. No-one is milling about – they have a purpose in their journey. I take out my book and immediately put it away – I get the sense this cafe isn't a place to come and read! [Field diary, Crian, 10/04/12]

In contrast to the idyllic representations of Abanoch, initial impressions of Crian suggest a sense of workers coming and going (Gilling, 2011). My arrival story differed in Crian, there was a less obvious location to go and meet local people and the general environment suggested a place where tourism were not high priorities for the village. The hotel located on the main road into the town is dilapidated and has been unoccupied for a considerable length of time. The bustling shops, apparent in Abanoch, are missing in Crian and whilst there has been some recent refurbishment of the town square, the sense of tourists shopping and wandering between coffee shops is missing in Crian. This is partly because the basis for the economy in Crian is agriculture and industry rather than tourism, thus the village is not trying to represent idyllic notions of the countryside. The social fabric of Crian also differs from Abanoch, with deprivation and ASB more immediately apparent, and the 'frightened' and 'deprived' narratives (Gilling, 2011) of the rural are more obvious:

I park the car and decide to go for a walk round the village. I am struck immediately by the comparatively large number of housing schemes compared to Abanoch. It looks like most of the residents in Crian live in council housing, either that or I have missed the wealthier parts of Crian⁸! There is graffiti visible as I am walking through the village – alongside the health centre, and there is a sense that the place has come through a tough economic time... [Field diary, Crian, 27/02/2012]

In contrast, in Abanoch, there were few immediate visible signs of ASB:

I wander about Abanoch for a couple of hours and spot no visible signs of ASB. There are a few situational crime prevention signs, such as this:



Figure 5.5: No Fouling sign, Abanoch (image: Author)

Overall, however, there are few visible signs of ASB and when I introduce myself and the project...the kind of initial stuff, people normally talk immediately about dog dirt... [Field diary Abanoch, 16/06/11]

These qualitative reflections on my arrival in Abanoch and Crian have sought to provide an understanding of the rural context of Abanoch and Crian, in a way that quantitative evidence can only partially provide. They illustrate the multiple representations of the rural, and although only initial impressions, illustrate the representations that people visiting these locations are likely to see. Arrival stories are therefore a useful way of understanding these initial representations. Later chapters in the thesis explore the multiple representations of the rural apparent in Abanoch and Crian, and the impact dominant idyllised versions of the rural have on

⁸ It later emerges that this is what happened, and the north-east of the village has a number of large, detached properties.

the response of communities and the police to ASB, but the next section is going to explore the importance of managing relationships in the field.

5.3 Managing relationships in the field

A key part of the first couple of months of fieldwork in both Crian and Abanoch was making contacts - legitimising the research I was doing, trying to get my face known in the community and fitting in with the everyday life and rhythms of the case study. As such, there are numerous references throughout my research diary which highlight some of the problems associated with trying to fit in to the everyday life of Abanoch *and* conducting research about ASB in a small rural community. There are a number of different levels of being a 'stranger'. As Askins (2008) highlights, there are a number of co-ordinates of being known, from race, ethnicity, sameness and difference. In Abanoch, I could relate to what Neal and Walters (2006) term being a 'knowable stranger' – that is being white, middle class and Scottish but being very much considered an outsider or tourist to the rhythms of life in this rural location. In Crian, there are fewer tourists and more workers and it was therefore harder to fit into the rhythms of the village. Janes (1961) notes that the length of time that a researcher is in a location corresponds with the level of access, and therefore the quality of the data, that is gathered. Janes (1961) schema progresses from 'newcomer' to 'imminent migrant', shown in figure 5.6:

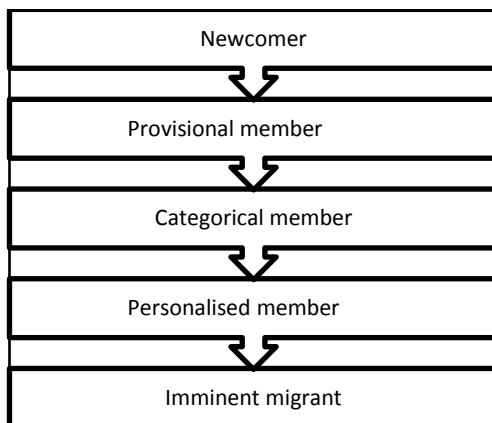


Figure 5.6: Redefinition of the participant observer (Adapted from Janes, 1961)

Janes (1961) conceptualisation of participant observer shows the stages that a researcher might go through in order to build 'rapport' with research participants. These stages were particularly applicable in the context of rural Scotland. The longer I spent in each location, the more people I got to know. There were different responses from different people in the village, with those with forward facing,

customer service types jobs tending to be more willing to discuss ASB in a relaxed manner, whilst young people and those involved with tourism in Abanoch and Crian tended to be less forthcoming. Nevertheless, in many circumstances, I did encounter similar stages to those discussed by Janes (1961). The ‘newcomer’ stage, in a similar way to Janes (1961), ended fairly quickly. This was the stage of the process where I was making initial contacts, explaining my research and thinking about who exactly I was going to approach to participate in the research. In part, the rural location meant that I would routinely bump into my contacts even when I wasn’t intending to. In relation to the police, most officers were aware of the research because the supervising Sergeant had sent an email to the community officers. I never moved from the ‘newcomer’ stage with a number of officers who had little to do with the research, where I was viewed with suspicion, with these officers being guarded with their responses.

During the provisional member stage in both Crian and Abanoch, I was frequently asked about my views of ASB and what I thought could be done better in relation to ASB and this would frequently lead to a broader discussion about ASB and the problems/impacts/challenges in Abanoch and Crian. It was as if they were using me as a soundboard, to find out what I knew and whether I could be trusted. Indeed, some of the community change organisations were reluctant to be associated with a project relating to ASB, with the community council in Abanoch refusing to engage for fear that they may somehow be tacitly condoning ASB by being involved in the research. These initial stages of research were therefore more challenging than I had anticipated.

As Janes (1961) and Davidson (2011) both note, the categorical member stage of the fieldwork process can take time. In my study this stage formed the longest periods of time in Crian, Abanoch and with the participant observation I did with the police. At this point the majority of participants were happy to engage and participate in the study. Only a few participants accepted me as a personalised member, and these tended to be the members of the community with which I spent most time and who acted as key gatekeepers. The youth worker in Crian, for example, regularly texts me, long after fieldwork has been completed. A key gate keeper in Abanoch, April, demonstrated the fact I had become a personalised member to her when, through a mis-communication, she assumed I would be in Abanoch sometime immediately

before Christmas in 2012 and had, along with another key informant, bought and written me a Christmas card:

I head back to Abanoch and I head to the shop to have a quick chat with April and Lesley. They are standing gossiping –but they ask where I have been and tell me they had Christmas cards for me ‘that they had spent ages writing’ and that they have just binned it because they haven’t seen me in Abanoch recently. They said that I must have made an impression if they are buying me a Christmas card! I am pretty touched that they thought to get me cards, but at the same time don’t want to get too close to those in my study. It is a tough line to walk. I also feel bad, because I am sure I told them that I wouldn’t be in Abanoch for most of December... [Field diary, Abanoch, 11/01/12]

This interaction highlights that with a couple of participants, I became a personalised member of the community. Becoming an imminent migrant was something which happened in both Crian and Abanoch to a limited degree with police officers and members of the community change organisations. They asked, perhaps prematurely but not unreasonably, for the findings of my PhD to be used to improve the response to ASB in Abanoch and Crian because they felt they could not have the same impact as someone ‘from the outside’ examining these issues. This led to situations where the community officer in Abanoch, in particular, was keen that my findings were passed up the chain, so his bosses could see that he was doing what he considered to be an excellent job. This was something which I explained was not possible to do at the scale of the individual officer, but nevertheless this highlights the shift I had made with this officer to imminent migrant.

Interestingly, there were differential responses between research groups and respondents in Abanoch and Crian in relation to Janes (1961) work. It took a lot longer, for example, to move beyond the newcomer and provisional member stages with young people than it did with some members of the community and the police. This was evident in a diary extract from Abanoch:

I am pretty frustrated with how slowly things are going at the youth club in terms of breaking down barriers and getting the young people to speak more freely...I feel that this process has happened much quicker with the community members... [Field diary, Abanoch, 06/10/11]

Research with young people involves building up trust (Ansell, 2009), something which takes longer to do than with adults. In addition, policing culture and the role of discipline in the organisation (see section 5.4) meant that officers, although

quietly cynical, were willing to accept me as a provisional member relatively quickly because they had been advised to so by their supervisors. This raises a number of often unavoidable ethical dilemmas, but means that in relation to Janes (1961) typology and in retrospect, I frequently moved more quickly through the stages with the police than with other groups.

Overall Janes (1961) theoretical framework is useful for beginning to think about my experience of conducting research in the context of rural Scotland. The reality of fieldwork, however, means that things do not happen in a linear, staged process. Instead, it is more dynamic and context specific than is possible to illustrate through a set of stages – with some relationships in the field never progressing beyond provisional or categorical members. In addition, there were clear differences between Crian and Abanoch in the way that different relationships were negotiated. The next section is going to explore some of the challenges associated with researching with the police.

5.4 Researching with the police: Recruitment, access and ethics

When approaching the police for permission to carry out this project, I was very aware of the suspicion that the police often view researchers with (Reiner, 2010), with many previous studies highlighting systemic failings within the police (see for example Punch, (1985)). However, initially these barriers were largely absent in this project. Being affiliated with Scottish Institute of Policing Research (SIPR) was helpful for opening up access channels within the police force and overcoming the initial newcomer stages outlined by Janes (1961). To begin with, I would agree with Punch's (1979) assessment that bureaucratic structures, such as the police can work for you and help facilitate fieldwork, because the hierarchical structure of the police means that if permission is granted from senior management, then access to the lower ranks is generally easier.

Yet, in Crian, I experienced the bureaucratic nature of the police first-hand and the complexities of fieldwork. To begin with, access to the police within Crian was straightforward. However, as was described in chapter four, the community officer in Crian only worked a Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday dayshift and a large part of these days were taken up by court, abstractions and catching up on paperwork, something which was not ideal for observing the police interaction with the

community and exploring ASB. Changing which officer I worked with required a renegotiation of access and a further meeting with the community Sergeant. Both were new to the job (in total three different Inspectors oversaw the Crian ward over the period of the eighteen months of fieldwork) and they had not been briefed on this project by their predecessors. In arranging a meeting with the new community Sergeant, it became immediately apparent that my fieldwork in Crian was not a high priority for him:

Despite having the Superintendent's support, the Sergeant seemed hostile towards me. He obviously doesn't want to work in this beat – 'I see myself as a CID officer, I can't hack this community nonsense'...I am shocked by this admission from a community Sergeant!...he later justifies his comment 'I fell out with the boss and got shipped out here for my sins, I can't wait to retire'. It becomes apparent that getting his OK to go out with cops is going to be a lengthy and bureaucratic process... [Field diary, Crian, 23/03/12]

This meeting ended with the project being passed to the force Solicitor who, after six months of deliberation, drew up an agreement, which ensured that I would protect the force's anonymity and would not sue them should I be involved in an accident in the course of fieldwork. I was also required to undergo the force's vetting procedure. In retrospect, these are issues that I was unaware of but should have addressed at the start of the fieldwork process. In future police related projects, I now know that there are additional checks that need to be done in order to conduct research with the police. Once these checks were completed, the barriers were removed to an extent and I had full access to the police officers who cover Crian. This also underlines what Reiner (2010: 121) calls the 'suspicion [of police officers] that cannot readily be switched off', particularly towards people who are aiming to shed light on police practice. Although the police are renowned for a 'making it work' culture (Chan, 2007), this episode underlined the way that police officers can also be 'blockers' to research. This was a very different experience to the one I had in Abanoch, where access was swiftly granted by a community Sergeant, possibly because he worked closely with the Superintendent who had granted initial access. There are therefore clear relational and bureaucratic challenges to overcome when doing research with the police.

The ethical and moral reflections involved with doing research with the police in many cases remain unresolved. Gaining access to the day-to-day reality of the police

does not open up the ‘inner reality of the police’ (Punch, 1979: 4), a process which requires a relationship and trust to be built up over time. As Gold, (1958, cited in Norris, 1993) notes, ‘participant observation is a master term which covers a continuum from participant to complete observer’ (126). When researching with the police there are certain legal restrictions that apply. Manning & Van Maanen (1978) note that most participant observation is carried out from position of ‘fan’, as indicated by the blue circle in Figure 5.7:

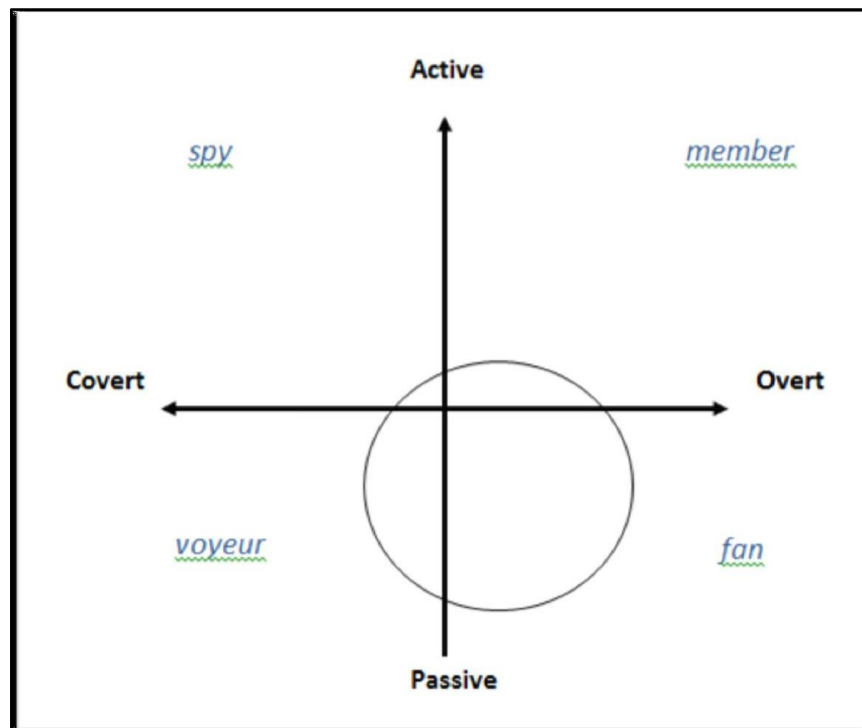


Figure 5.7: Types of participant observer roles (Manning & Van Maanen, 1978: 344)

I would agree that the majority of time I spent carrying out participant observation with the police was also carried out in the ‘fan’ side of the diagram, examining the way that the police were responding to ASB in a detached, non-police role. However, there were times that I moved between the roles. For instance, when with an officer talking to a member of the public, I was often considered a ‘member’ of the police, to all intents and purposes by the member of the public. This was particularly true when we attended a domestic violence incident in Crian:

I’m in the car when a call requesting that we go and speak to a complainant about alleged domestic abuse comes through on the radio. We are going to attend it and there isn’t time to drop me off prior to going to the house, so in the car the officer discusses our approach for making sure the woman is ok with me being there. The officer emphasises that he doesn’t want me to get them into trouble and because of the sensitive nature of the complaint I need to

bear all this in mind. The officer says they are going to explain the situation to the complainant straight away when we arrive. I feel nervous because of the warning and because I am unsure of how the lady will be.

Upon arriving, the lady is in a bit of a state and there isn't an opportunity for me to explain who I am before she discloses a lot of personal information. It is quite distressing to listen to the story and I feel like a fraud listening to it. When I eventually do get the opportunity to explain who I am, about 15 minutes into the conversation, she is fine with it (she thought I was an undercover detective), but ultimately if she hadn't been fine with it, I would still have heard a lot of a private conversation... [Field diary, Crian, 17/01/13]

As this excerpt demonstrates, I move between being a 'voyeur' and a 'fan', hearing an intimate story when the individual assumed I was an officer. As this highlights, there were times when the emotions of the situation meant that I would be listening to the details of a crime in a 'spy' like manner – aware that it wasn't really part of the remit of the project, but that the police officer needed to attend the incident quickly. Gaining informed consent in these situations is complex and relied on the officers I was with reading the situation and deciding whether it would cause more harm to interrupt to ensure the complainant knew who I was. As Norris (1993: 130) notes, 'if informed consent was fudged in terms of the police, it was completely disregarded for the public' and in the situation outlined above, this was a purely pragmatic decision on my part. There were occasions where informed consent was sought, but overall, when attending incidences with the police, gaining informed consent was not possible, appropriate and may have caused further harm for the individual. Indeed, most people assumed I was an undercover cop, a boss or from the Scottish Government. As Norris (1993) notes, the more relaxed and friendly the situation, the more likely I would be introduced as a researcher, whereas in more hostile and tricky situations (although there were not many in the duration of this project), I would not be introduced at all and often therefore be considered to be a police officer.

In order to try to pre-empt the conversation and gain informed consent, I would often 'dress down', usually wearing jeans and a jumper. Although this led to some disdainful looks around the police office in Crian, on a number of occasions, it prompted the public to question my role when interacting with the police and this therefore enabled me to seek explicitly informed consent. At various points the interactions I had with the police were 'interactionally deceitful' (Norris, 1993: 131),

that is, officers thought I had more operationalised knowledge than I actually had. Following a three-month stint at Tulliallan police training college as an intern, I knew a lot of the language and much of the discussion about the single police force in Scotland. This was more apparent in Crian, where I had the experience of the Abanoch fieldwork and the placement at Tulliallan to enhance my knowledge of policing language. Being aware of some of the broader structural challenges related to policing in Scotland helped forge relationships with the officers in Crian. I used this as a way of lessening the distance between the police and myself and, in the process, gained research credibility using it as a way of talking about situations from a shared sense of perspective. These views often contrasted with those expressed by youth workers. This was thrown into sharp (and awkward) focus when I was with the police officer in Crian and we went to visit the youth club:

When we turned up [at the youth club], the youth leader immediately challenges me in a light hearted way about 'joining up and becoming part of the [police] force', and although I protest, I am aware that I have just been discussing my time at Tulliallan with the Police Officer in the car...my two different research personas in these rural communities – the one at the youth club and the one I have with the police – often contradict each other, so I feel awkward in this situation... [Field diary, Crian, 15/02/13]

The rural context played a part in some of these ethical challenges, because, unlike in urban areas, paths cross more readily in small, rural locations. Contrasting research personas are therefore more readily challenged and complex to negotiate. Overall, there were a number of challenging ethical situations when conducting participant observation with the police; but the ethical and methodological challenges I experienced are similar to the ones experienced by other policing researchers (Chan, 2007; Loftus, 2010; Norris, 1993; Reiner, 2010). The final theme that this chapter is going to explore relates to the research challenges of researching in youth clubs and with young people.

5.5 Researchers in youth clubs: Power and ethics

Young people have become an increasingly important focus for geographers (van Blerk and Barker, 2008). Geographic research with young people has considered how children are social actors and have their own competency and agency, with childhood being socially constructed and 'historically, culturally and spatially specific' (van Blerk et al., 2009). As chapter four examined, in order to understand young people's views of ASB and the context in which it occurs, it was important to

spend time conducting participant observation at the youth clubs in Abanoch and Crian (Matthews et al., 2000). Throughout the duration of fieldwork with young people, a number of ethical and methodological challenges were encountered.

An important consideration in conducting research on ASB in rural locations was the order in which I engaged with the research participants. As Kelly (2003) discusses, the institutionalised mistrust of young people means that there is a 'climate of resentment and fear [towards the police] among young people' (Goldsmith, 2008: 234). There was a risk therefore, that the young people at the youth clubs would see me on ride-alongs with the police and assume I was a police officer or at least assume I was telling the officer the stories they told me in confidence. I wanted to reduce the risk of this by engaging with young people first in the study, spending an extended amount of time hanging out with them, getting to know them before conducting focus groups and before going on patrol with the community police officer in the village. It was important that the young people participating in this study were confident that I was not going to disclose stories that they had told me about in relation to ASB to the police and therefore saw me as a university researcher as opposed to a youth worker or police officer. This was an aspect of the methodology that was only partially successful, because as much as I tried to make it explicit that I was not a member of the police, on a number of occasions in both case study locations, young people challenged me about my identity.

A key aim of this stage of the research process was to avoid what Hopkins (2010: 27) describes as 'research which lacks attention to young people's experience or is tokenistic'. In order to do that, I attended the youth clubs on a regular basis and got involved with whatever activities were occurring – from moving chairs, to doing art workshops, games and other activities. Frequently in Abanoch, as my first case study, I thought I had explained adequately the project to the young people, yet questions such as 'no offence, but why are you here?' kept cropping up (Field diary, Abanoch, 18/10/11):

This is an extract from my fieldwork diary, where despite 6 weeks of going to a youth club twice per week, I am challenged about being a police officer on an overnight residential trip to Glenshee:

The young people have a fair bit of free time in the afternoon, when one of the young people asks me to go and have a kick about. In the end up, I become more of a referee as an argument breaks out on the makeshift football pitch between two groups of the lads. I feel awkward at this moment because I am neither a trained youth worker or football referee and I am the only adult within earshot (although two staff are washing dishes in a window that looks onto the makeshift pitch) – so I try to calm the situation down, at which point Dylan turns to me and says ‘you make the decision, you are a police officer so you can send him off’...at this point the young people are not interested in listening to me explain again that I am not a police officer and the game moves on without me getting a chance to clarify my role... [Field diary, Abanoch, 18/10/11]

This is one of a number of times that I was assumed to be a police officer by young people. This illustrates the additional time it takes to become a categorical member in youth club research settings (Figure 5.6), in Crian I was much more explicit from the beginning and because of the routine of the youth clubs in Crian, I spent longer with fewer young people and therefore got to know them better. As part of the process of fieldwork, I attended a number of cookery classes with the young people, which included entering (and winning!) the children’s ‘World Jampionship’ (Figure 5.8):

As it is the last day of the cookery class, I am invited to make the raspberry jam in the afternoon alongside the young people. In the afternoon, I get stuck in about the making of jam and it is actually pretty easy – equal amounts raspberry and sugar and a bit of pectin boiled up together. I get quite into it and as the afternoon progresses I help with the pouring the jam etc., but on the whole I concentrate on making my jam. Once I have put some of it in jars, one of the young people asks if I am submitting jam to the world jampionship. I am a bit like ‘hadn’t really thought about it, but sure’ and so I stick some in the same box – not realising that all the jam from the youth club would be considered to have been made by a child. In a very embarrassing twist, 3 weeks later it is announced at the Good Food Show that I have in fact won the children’s world Jampionship! How embarrassing. A gold medal for raspberry jam. I am mortified:

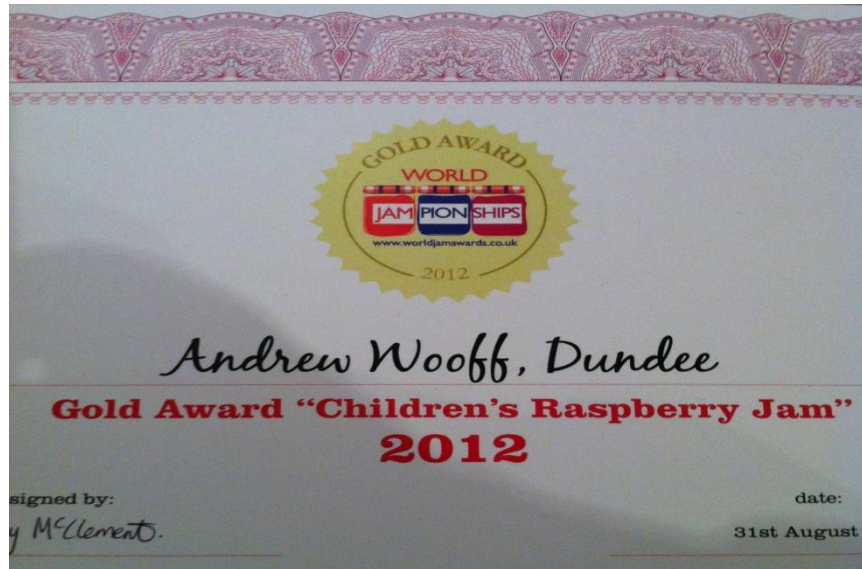


Figure 5.8: World Children's Jampionship certificate (Image: Author)

Despite this embarrassment, the entire cooking project has been good. There has been a lot of partnership involvement and interestingly Graeme, the youth worker, asked if I would continue working with them, saying that I would make a great youth worker. This probably highlights how embedded I have become in the youth work set up in Crian, and something I didn't really experience in Abanoch ... [Field diary, Crian, 05/08/12]

This extract highlights some of the potentially embarrassing situations that doing research with young people can involve, and having won the jampionship, it was too late to own up to the fact that I am an adult. I agree with Schäfer and Yarwood (2008) that in this research context, despite engaging with young people for long periods of time, there were still clear power relations evident. This was clear in another situation, where I witnessed a new youth worker in Crian laying her hands on a young person:

Sharon [the new youth worker] screams 'SHUUUUT UUUUP!' – her face gets redder...It really seems inappropriate for a trainee on her first night to shout this. A group of lads stay and play pool and Sharon goes over to join them. Bruce, a particularly boisterous young lad, winds her up and she chases him round the pool table. I feel very awkward in this position – I know what this woman is doing is wrong but none of the others are saying anything about it. Stuart especially should at this point be making more of an effort to stop this woman's behaviour.

At this point, the woman is still chasing the lad round the pool table and he stumbles and falls. This gargantuan woman is then over the top of this lad play fighting with him – I think it gets more and more awkward. The lad seems to be going along with it though and enjoying the attention. This is perhaps the only reason no one is saying anything, because the young lad doesn't look bothered by it.

The worst part of the whole thing though, is she then drapes her arm over this guy and does this kind of walk-pull thing. What is she thinking? Everyone knows not to ever lay hands on young people. The kid doesn't seem bothered at first but then this other wee lad comes over and tries to start fighting with the kid Sharon is holding on to. Bruce, the first lad, obviously reacts...goes crazy. He shouts 'fucking let me go' 'let me go you fat bitch' 'what the fuck do you think you are doing' – as he is trying to break free from Sharon. At this point Stuart steps in and grabs hold of the boy who is fighting with Bruce and pulls him off. Bruce is raging and storms out the door. The other lad gets held by Sharon for what seems like a minute or two, but is probably no more than a couple of seconds...at least 3 of the youth workers are saying 'let him go, let him go' and she doesn't do it quick enough. By now, the other lad is raging. And when he finally does let go he goes and picks up a trestle Table and throws it at Sharon. We catch our breaths briefly and shut the door. But I say 'shouldn't someone go out and make sure the lads aren't knocking lumps out of each other outside'...Stuart agrees and goes out to see that one of the lads has kicked a door in of the offices nearby.

There are a number of issues here – one is that I have blatantly witnessed ASB and this highlights the temporal and spatial one-off venting of frustration. There was nothing pre-meditated here, nothing drink or drug induced and nothing particularly that he did wrong. This is perhaps illustrative of ASB that could be committed after having an argument with parents or when older down the pub. It highlights a much less pre-meditated opportunistic form of ASB than is usually encapsulated under the 'youths causing ASB' typology. It is also interesting to consider what would have happened had I intervened. I don't think I should have, given my lack of expertise in this area and the fact I am there as someone to view what is going on and not a trained youth worker. It is hard though, where is the ethics here? In addition, how can an ethics form account for this kind of dynamic situation?

My role now becomes that of a witness...a witness to a potential assault, criminal activity and to a significant event that happened at the youth club. I am therefore involved in a 'significant event' meeting and we chat through what happened (without Sharon, who is asked not to come back). My opinion is given credence by the fact that I am seen as 'an outsider' ... And fair enough, in contrast to the literature, I have found my access to young people to be very straightforward in contrast to that of the police and other community groups. Perhaps too easy...there is an overall decision to improve recruiting techniques [Field diary, Crian, 21/03/12]

This incident was significant, and led me to question my role within the youth club setting more than any others during fieldwork. In particular, reading this situation and trying to respond as a researcher, yet feeling partially responsible for the well-being of the young people, made this a challenge. Yet it was over so quickly, I had to rely on my instinctive sense of what to do.

Ethical challenges are part of the process of doing research with young people, something which, although challenging at times, overall I found to be a very rewarding and interesting part of this research process. As the world Jampionship illustrates, a large degree of the participant observation stage of the fieldwork with young people involved participating as much as possible in the youth club and attempting to capture the ‘ontological complexity’ of the lives of young people (van Blerk et al., 2009).

5.6 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to illustrate some of the challenges of operationalising a well-thought through methodology. The rural context meant that I ‘traversed some stranger-to-familiar borders without difficulty, yet there were still outsider borders marked by other variables that I had to navigate’ (Neal and Walters, 2006: 180). This chapter has illustrated some of the key ethical and methodological issues associated with conducting research in rural areas and with participant groups with whom research can be challenging. Using research diary extracts, I aimed to illustrate the messiness of qualitative data collection.

Understanding the community context of Abanoch and Crian helped ensure that I was able to speak to those that Neal & Walters (2008: 283) term the ‘rurally included’ - those rural populations who appear to have an uncontested claim to rural belonging and hold the power over the ‘marginalised, subordinated and invisibilised others’ (Philo, 1992). The rurally included are frequently the enablers within the rural sphere, people who are involved in organising events and who can help provide insight into the ongoing community difficulties. Not only does this help with legitimising my presence, but also allowed me to begin to understand some of the complex relationships that exist in rural locations. As Neal and Walters (2006) highlight, in rural locations your presence is obvious because not only you are physically an outsider, but also an outsider to the complex relationships that exist and which are difficult to navigate. Understanding these complexities helps the project examine the nature and impact of ASB on different people within the community. The following four chapters explore, respectively, the nature and impact of, and responses to, ASB in more detail in Abanoch and Crian.

6 Exploring the nature and causes of ASB in rural Scotland

6.1 Introduction

This chapter is the first of four substantive chapters which answer the research questions outlined in chapter three. This chapter seeks to answer the first research question, examining the nature of ASB in rural Scotland. Having outlined the nature of ASB as developed in the context of urban locations in chapter two, this chapter examines the nature and forms of behaviour associated with ASB in the rural context. The first section of this chapter examines the extent to which urban typologies of ASB, shown in Figure 2.1, apply to debates in rural locations. The chapter seeks to explore whether a rural typology of ASB exists and what the main drivers are for the ASB identified in the study. Lastly, the chapter asks whether the predominant forms of ASB are distinct enough to be considered ‘rural ASB’ or whether it is more appropriate to label this behaviour ‘ASB in rural Scotland’.

6.2 The character of ASB in rural Scotland: The importance of context

As chapter two highlighted, there has been little work carried out to provide a contextualised understanding of ASB. Existing urban-based typologies of ASB are simplistic in their groupings of behaviours and tend to underplay the role that impact of ASB has on rural localities. Figure 2.1 therefore brings Innes and Weston’s (2010) harm thesis together with the types of ASB identified in the typologies, with the aim of conceptualising ASB in a more theoretical framework. This chapter, in a sense, deconstructs Figure 2.1 to focus specifically on the types of behaviour which were considered anti-social by participants in this study. Chapter Seven focuses on the impact of ASB in Abanoch and Crian and therefore focuses more specifically on the harm thesis developed by Innes and Weston (2010).

Evidence from this project suggests that in some aspects, these typologies are a useful way of exploring general understandings of ASB in rural Scotland. At a regional scale, participants from the local authority noted that, to them, there is no difference between rural and urban ASB, except that ASB generally happens less often in rural locations:

‘ASB can vary community to community, but fundamentally we deal with the same forms of ASB whether it is in the deepest remotest [region] or in the

centre of [large town]...it is the frequency of the event the ASB that can vary...so the ASB is the same...' (Jim, anti-social investigation team)

In addition to the local authority employees, a number of participants in both case study locations also identified types of ASB that mirrors that identified in urban areas. Millie et al. (2005) highlighted 'environmental damage' and 'disregard for community and personal wellbeing' were the most common forms of ASB to be seen as a 'problem in your area'. This was similar to data from the Home Office one-day-count, which recorded litter and rubbish, criminal damage/vandalism as most common forms of ASB, followed by vehicle-related nuisance and nuisance behaviour (Home Office, 2003)

It is therefore of little surprise that the most common ASB identified by participants in both case studies fall under the categories of environmental ASB and ASB which restricts access to public space on Millie et al's (2005) schema. As Figure 2.1 shows, this maps on to the 'high scale' side of Innes and Weston's conceptualisation of harm. In both Abanoch and Crian dog dirt, a form of environmental ASB, was mentioned numerous times by participants:

George: Dog fouling is a big issue in the town...

Issy: Can I say – this dog fouling – it is the bane of my bloody life. I went out on Monday – down at the caravan site, there is a dog bin...overflowing...

Mags: It is always overflowing.

[Focus Group, Pride Abanoch]

Young people also complained about dog dirt being problematic in both communities:

AW: What type of ASB is most common?

Kris: Dog shit...

Cambell: Yes, dog poo!

Lee: Dog shite....

Cambell: I stand in it every day...

AW: And who is responsible for that?

Kris: Old ladies...

[Focus Group, 13-15, Abanoch]

In addition to dog dirt, littering and noise was mentioned frequently across both case studies. Interestingly, although these forms of ASB were discussed across both localities frequently, the context and form of this type of ASB varied between Abanoch and Crian. Despite being classed as a remote rural location with a small population, Abanoch has a high school and a bustling tourist trade. School children were often apportioned the blame in relation to littering, being accused of dropping it at lunchtimes:

'Yes, invariably school lunchtime in the [area of village], and along where there are benches. Actually walking down the high street, they just drop the wrapping or the cans' Janet (80s, Abanoch)

Similarly, Abanoch has a night-time economy, with a number of pubs located on the main street and square, leading to what Isobel describes as *'a general rabble, which can be heard in most of the village'* (Isobel, 70s, Abanoch). Noise from the pubs in Abanoch was a genuine concern of many of the participants in this study, mirroring literature which examines ASB in the urban context (Hadfield et al., 2010). Discussion often centred round the fact that the rural context of the village meant that when there was noise from the pubs, it tended to be more noticeable:

'It's the young ones, ken, I moved here...most of the time it's quiet and that and, but at a weekend the noise coming from that [name of pub] is shocking. I have given up trying to sleep before midnight on them days' Betty (90s, Abanoch)

This quote highlights behaviour that would be considered more broadly as disregard

for community wellbeing (Harradine et al., 2004). It also highlights the temporality and spatiality of ASB, themes which will be returned to throughout the thesis. In relation to the night-time economy, Crian does not have the same noise issues associated with the local pubs that was described by participants in Abanoch. Crian is classed as accessibly rural, which means people, particularly the young, tend to go to nearby towns and cities to drink and therefore the associated noise also is less problematic:

'Lots of people from Crian go out in [neighbouring towns], so I think a lot of the troublemakers that might cause problems go out in other places. You don't get the same noise issues from people coming back from pubs compared to [large city]...' Jeff (20s, Crian)

Noise related ASB in Crian tended to involve social housing and neighbourhood issues, with participants highlighting the spatiality of the ASB affecting specific parts of Crian:

'The main thing here is neighbourhood issues – noisy neighbours and that, especially [area of town] where loads of people were moved in. I mean, just at, you know the barbers shop – well more or less across the road from there, there is a detached house which is full of young Poles who play loud music all through the day.' Mark (50s, Crian)

Although the core issue here is still noise, the nuance to the ASB is different. In Figure 2.1, this form of ASB is a low scale, personal harm compared to the noise in Abanoch which is more diffuse in who it affects. Neighbourhood disputes and noise characterise the ASB most commonly reported by participants in Crian, while littering and dog dirt were the common forms of ASB reported by those in Abanoch. The context and spatiality appear to be important therefore in understanding the types of ASB experienced in each community, with differences between the social and spatial make up of these communities influencing the common forms of ASB experienced by participants. Social housing features prominently in the centre of Crian, and because of the location of the village, tenants are frequently moved in from a larger neighbouring city. Abanoch, on the other hand, has a small area of social housing on its periphery that, because of its remote rural location, tends to have less of a throughput of individuals.

As chapter three highlighted, these two case studies were selected because of their social and spatial differences. Abanoch is dominated by representations of a

particular type of rural, the idyllic countryside which has a large tourist trade, high second home ownership and large retiree population. Crian, in contrast is more deprived, particularly when education and housing are examined on the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation. It is also located in an accessibly rural location and experiences a seasonal influx of migrant workers. These community variations influence the response of the community to both the police and ASB (see Chapters Eight and Nine), but importantly it also seems to impact on the nature of ASB most frequently experienced in the case studies (Herbert, 2006). In particular, because the ASB in Crian tends to be at the more serious end of the scale (and therefore more often requires a police intervention), the more mundane, low-level forms of ASB that were big issues in Abanoch appear to be treated in a less important manner in Crian.

Indeed, the neighbourhood disputes that are more common in Crian were frequently described in terms of ‘fighting’. Often this was between families involved in neighbourhood disputes. When conducting fieldwork, a large-scale fight took place in an area of social housing in Crian. This proved to be a reference point in a number of subsequent interviews conducted with residents of Crian in the weeks and months after this event:

‘The ASB is getting ridiculous at times, like last week. They said there would be about 20 police there on Thursday. It’s mad. But they were just wanting [name], but he stays in [name] so unless he has done something there and has landed at his mother’s...but still, it is like a war zone up there with all the fighting...’ Jean (50s, Crian)

This particular fight was highlighted by a number of participant as a ‘sign that ASB was bad’, something which Innes (2004) describes as a signal crime. This idea is explored in the next chapter. Because of the widespread publicity surrounding the case, this particular fight garnered a large police input and became a symbol of the social problems in Crian, with Jeff stating that *‘an incident like that, well it really brings it home that there is ASB here’*. This incident of ASB was the most serious witnessed in this study, involving intimidation and in this case physical violence. It also highlights the temporality to ASB, where memories of ASB are tapered by incidents like this and if this study was to be repeated, that fight might not be recalled in the manner outlined in this thesis. The contextualised nature and scale at which ASB is examined is therefore important.

Other forms of ASB that are included in existing urban typologies are largely absent (or hidden) from the participants in this study. In particular, forms of ASB highlighted by the UK Government as examples of ASB, such as prostitution, kerb crawling and sexual acts were not reported by any participants. Indeed, when asked about these forms of ASB, participants often looked in disbelief:

The person that runs the hostel comes over and asks me what my project is about...so I take the opportunity to ask her about her experiences of ASB in Abanoch. She talks about alcohol and littering at length. I then explain that prostitution is part of the urban typology of ASB and ask her if it is much of a problem in Abanoch. She nearly falls off the seat in shock, states that it is something she has never come across in her time in the village. The conversation becomes stilted and she leaves... (Field diary, 29/09/11)

The above excerpt does highlight a common response to questions about these more serious forms of ASB. ASB as described by the community participants in this study typically involves low level, everyday environmental types ASB and ASB which involves some degree of disregard for community and personal wellbeing (Harradine et al., 2004). Interestingly, there were some forms of ASB discussed by participants in this study which have not been covered in the urban literature, something that the next section of the thesis explores.

6.3 Towards an understanding of ASB in rural Scotland

Although much of the ASB discussed by participants in this study relates to ASB that has been identified by studies in an urban settings (e.g. Hadfield et al., 2010; Harradine et al., 2004; Jacobson et al., 2005), there were some interesting differences. In Abanoch in particular, ASB was expressed in some distinctive ways. This not only reflects the socio-economic makeup of the community in Abanoch, but also the temporal dimension of some of the current challenges that the community of Abanoch is facing. With a large number of second-home owners in the village, the point of view that the actions of second-home owners are anti-social was put forward:

'Second home buyers have come in...second home buyers drive me mental! I would say they are anti-social. Rental has gone through the roof. It is £690 per month for anything, how's that fair making some of the poor ones pay that? And they are all empty [the houses owned by second-home owners] and they sit empty...and they don't put anything into the community...when they come up from wherever they are, they stop in

[nearby city] and get their shopping, come up, unpack and sit in the house...they contribute very little to the economy and community of the town. I find that very annoying and I would say that is definitely ASB.' Zara (40s, Abanoch)

This local resident has lived in Abanoch all her life, expressed a sentiment that a number of long-term local population in Abanoch also highlighted. Although this, under the 2004 Anti-social behaviour (Scotland) Act, is perhaps stretching the definition of ASB ('behaviour which has caused or is likely to cause harassment, alarm or distress') a bit far, using the term in this way illustrates the strong feelings harboured by parts of the community against those purchasing second homes. This respondent is arguing that second-home ownership essentially means that she and others in her situation are being excluded and 'othered' (Sibley, 2003) through the high cost of housing by those buying into the 'rural idyll' holiday-home lifestyle. In contrast to the rural idyll narrative, Zara expresses a view which highlights what Gilling (2011: 77) terms 'the deprived countryside', a discourse which underlines 'an unmet social need' – in this case affordable housing.

It was not only Zara who described ASB in these terms. A number of participants talked about situations which do not fit the original government definition of ASB, but describe the term in a broader communitarian derived way, where local contexts and spatially specific idiosyncrasies create a perception of ASB (Gilling, 2010). At the time that field work was being conducted in Abanoch, there was an on-going community consultation about a renewable energy scheme which, had it gone ahead, would provide the village with a guaranteed income of £50,000 for the next 25 years. The debate centred round whether the potential damage that the scheme would cause to the fragile ecosystem was outweighed by the potential benefit that an extra £50,000 per year would bring to the community of Abanoch. In a number of interactions with members of the community, participants argued that not building the scheme was anti-social:

'The Hydro Scheme which is up for development on the hill at the moment and the vast majority of people who are really against that are people who don't want Abanoch 'spoiled'. And that is just crap! It is a lifeline to a wee community that, I mean the community would get £50k a year, guaranteed for the next 50 years [sic]. And that would make a massive difference to the young people of Abanoch and other groups in the town... [Opposing the scheme] is very anti-social...look at the benefit it could bring...' Harry (40s, Abanoch)

Again, this individual interprets the nature of ASB at a local scale; it is not the actions of an individual or a group within the community who are causing the ‘alarm and distress’ to other individuals, instead it is a broader point about what is best for the greater good of Abanoch. Equally, those who opposed the scheme claimed that building it was anti-social, because it will ruin the view and our enjoyment of a community resource. This illustrates the contested nature of ASB, with the nature of ASB couched within these terms conflating notions of what is best for the community with the perceived power of incomers coming into Abanoch. Indeed, second homeowners that retired into Abanoch were noted for the powerful networks that they could draw upon when fighting for or against community projects:

‘Many many people decide to retire here or have their second homes here...which is arguably more of a problem. Like round the corner there is the retired chairman of BT, 2 miles along the road there is the ex-director of [brewing company] and ex director of [insurance company] and ex director of [large British corporate company] and [famous person] down the road...these powerful people all stay very close next to each other...these people speak to each other have connections with powerful lawyers and people...you’re putting these powerful people against the locals, you know...’ Harry (40s, Abanoch)

This participant links ASB to those moving into the community as a powerful elite, who, using existing work and social networks, can drive community change in Abanoch in ways that potentially disadvantage the local community. In most cases, the individuals that Harry discusses, although perhaps not in an explicit way, have an agenda that services self-interest. In the context of Abanoch, this appears to be primarily about preserving an idyll by influencing community dynamics and decisions, using their influence and power when needed. This was most obvious in the way that some of these powerful elite mobilised in order to challenge the building of Hydro scheme. Thus, although the existing literature explores the role of social control in defining the nature of ASB, it has not explicitly drawn a line between the local scale context and differing types of ASB.

The social dynamics in Crian mean that the nature of ASB expressed in this community was more typical of that accounted for in existing ASB literature, with disregard for community/personal wellbeing through noise nuisance and neighbourhood disputes being the biggest cause of complaint. An interesting

dimension to emerge from the focus groups with young people in both case studies related their definition of ASB:

AW: What do you think anti-social behaviour is?
 Kris: What [Name] does on the Xbox
 Lee: He stays inside the whole day
 Cambell: He just geeks out ... s-t-a-y-i-n-g [writing it out]...
 Kris: That is not ASB
 Lee: Yeh it is because you are not speaking to anyone else.
 AW: So ASB to you is not speaking, being quiet?
 Cambell: Not being social like with friends and that
 [Focus Group, Abanoch, Aged 13-15]

This focus group was recorded as the young people were noting down what they thought ASB consisted of. As Figure 6.1 below shows, the initial reaction involved the traditional meaning of ASB:

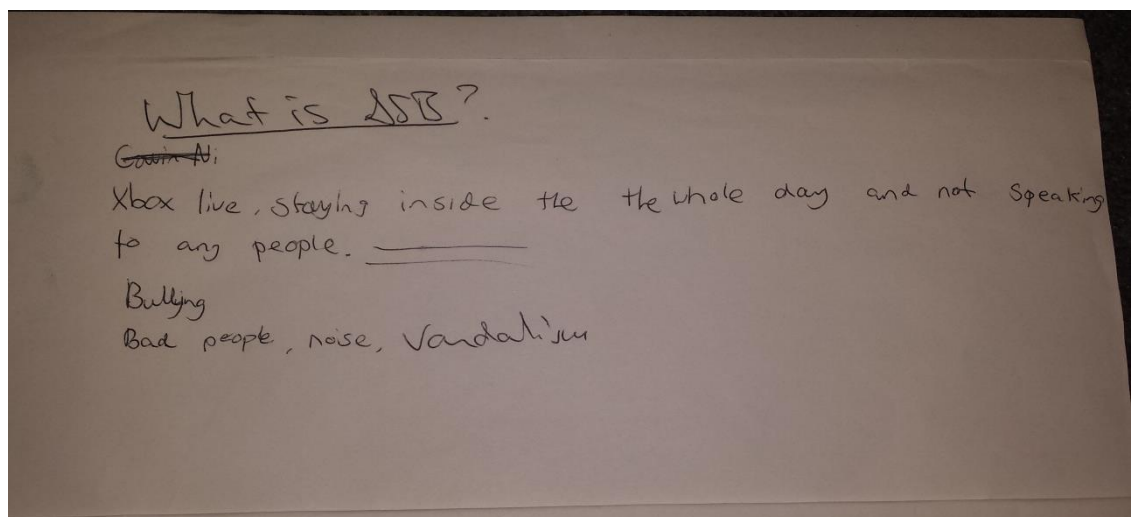


Figure 6.1: Focus group diagramming - What is ASB?

This is interesting, because it pares the meaning of ASB back to its original intended interpretation; behaviour which is not considered pro-social, often as a result of a personality disorder (Millie, 2009). These conceptions pre-date definitions which link ASB to disorder and highlight the fact that many of these young participants understand ASB in more basic terms. Much of the behaviour commonly associated

with disregard for community/personal wellbeing, misuse of public space and environmental damage was regarded as all right in some circumstances and contexts. At the skate park for instance, '*graffiti is ok, ken there is a code there*' [Focus Group, Aged 13-15, Crian]. Age therefore also plays an important part in understanding what ASB in rural Scotland is, something returned to in section 6.5.

The term 'anti-social behaviour' is therefore multifaceted, meaning different things to different people in different contexts and at different times. Urban typologies of ASB are useful for beginning to flesh out the concept. Yet urban types of ASB have failed to account for some of the more abstract meanings of ASB identified by participants in this study. The meanings attached to ASB in this study appear to underline the importance of the context, spatiality and perception of ASB in both time and space, in the determination of whether an action is anti-social or not. The next section is going to explore the importance of perception and context in understanding ASB (Burney, 2006; Crawford and Lister, 2007; Millie, 2009; Millie et al., 2005).

6.4 The importance of perception and context in understanding ASB in rural Scotland

Commonly when discussing the nature of ASB in the case study locations, participants discussed the attitudes of those committing ASB. Although many were happy to discuss committing ASB themselves, there was a general agreement that forms of ASB identified should be tackled swiftly. As Eldridge (2010) notes, the perception of ASB is motivated by different concerns, each situated within the gender, class and age of the individual.

Age plays a particularly important part in relation to perceptions of ASB. As much of the ASB literature highlights, 'youths identified as anti-social currently wear the mantle of society's contemporary folk devils' (McIntosh, 2008: 239). As McIntosh (2008) notes, young people occupy a unique position whereby they are seen as both a group which are vulnerable to suffering the effects of ASB *and* a group from which the community needs protecting. Although the impact of these policies on young people will be fully explored in chapter eight, it is important to highlight that many young participants felt that other members of the community perceived their actions to be anti-social even when they were just 'hanging about'. The context in which

this occurred is a key factor however, with many other members of the community distinguishing between situational and temporal circumstances when behaviour would and would not be considered anti-social. The ‘when’ and ‘where’ of ASB therefore becomes a central part of distinguishing between behaviour that is or is not considered anti-social.

Other authors have argued that context is important, yet they tend to underplay the role that the locality plays in the perception of ASB. As Millie (2007: 381) argues ‘what is or is not regarded as anti-social can be very context-specific’. Indeed, Millie (2009) uses the example of spitting to illustrate that something which is acceptable and tolerated on the football pitch is reviled on the street. Yet, in some contexts, spitting in the street would not be considered ASB – in Crian, for example, minor ASB appears to be tolerated in a way that it is not in Abanoch. Defining ASB therefore becomes a situated and temporal process, something that is reflected even more starkly in rural Scotland. A community capacity builder explains:

‘The problem with ASB – what is ASB for one person won’t be for another. I could go and walk through a field of barley at this time of the year...that is ASB, because I am tramping down crops. I could do the same thing next week and it will be fine because the field has been harvested.’ Jim (Crian, community capacity builder)

This adds to the complexity of identifying a useful working definition of ASB. As the anti-social investigations team (ASIT) note, even although they have a fairly rigid, policy driven definition of what ASB incidents they will investigate and attend, the context is still key in determining whether an incident is ASB or not:

‘That brings out the fact that it depends on the environment that you live in. When we are considering noise nuisance, we have to consider what is classed as the underlying level of noise. The environmental noise that the resident is exposed to everyday of the week etc. Obviously if you live in [city] then you would expect you would have traffic noise until 1-2am as a regular factor coming into your home’ Jack (Anti-Social Investigations Team)

Thus even within organisations that have formalised understandings of ASB, context plays a key part in their response. The question of where ASB occurs fundamentally informs whether an act is or is not considered ASB by both the local authority and the police. The context and perception of ASB were therefore key themes that participants discussed in relation to the nature of ASB within the case study

locations.

Innes & Weston (2010) argue that it is important that the perception and context of ASB is understood, because the perception of ASB and the reality are often quite different. Understanding the perception of ASB can provide a valuable insight into the scale and impact of ASB in communities where recorded ASB is low. In Abanoch in particular, the police have a spatially defined area in the village where most of the ASB incidents they attend occur:

'I usually go round past the park, through the square and up to [name of street] because these are the places that we get most of our calls from'
Community Police Officer (Abanoch)

Although these locations do account for many of the ASB calls that the police receive in Abanoch, much of the everyday ASB that participants noted in this study was low-level environmental ASB that rarely warrants a call to the police. Perceptions amongst residents of the scale of ASB in Abanoch therefore often varied compared to the measured levels of 'nuisance calls' that the police receive. In part, this is because of the elastic definition of ASB, but it is also due to differences in people's perceptions and understanding of ASB.

Importantly, the significance of ASB varies between agencies, with differences between what the police, the housing departments and the youth workers identify as ASB. As Mathews & Briggs (2009) note, these different interpretations of ASB emerge from historical shifts where housing teams often only deal with the symptoms of ASB within the housing context, whilst community safety teams deal with a much broader remit in relation to ASB. In this study, the main differences rested in variation between approaches to understanding and exploring ASB between youth workers and the police:

'The way I think about ASB, you know, it's not the same as the police and that can cause problems. Like my perception of when someone is messing about and when it is a policing matter, well I think [in relation to ASB] they are heavy handed sometimes...' Jacki (Youth Worker, Abanoch)

The perception of whether an action is anti-social or not can vary also depending on frequency of an event. As Bromley & Stacey (2011: 651) note, the 'perceived frequency' of ASB is a key factor in understanding the nature and impact of ASB. Thus, low level ASB - rowdy behaviour and noise for example - may not be

considered ASB if it happens sporadically or in a planned manner. Participants in this study made this distinction:

'I don't mind the neighbours having an odd party, ken when they put a note round [to warn of party], it's when it's constant music blarin' at all times of day and night, that's when it becomes anti-social' Shivon (40s, Crian)

This is interesting, because Shivon is highlighting that an action which would be considered anti-social in a specific context, may be tolerated if the action is a 'one off' and expected. The importance of context, perception and frequency in deciding whether an action is or is not anti-social appears to be important in the rural case studies, something which Millie (2007: 388) highlights, noting that 'what is tolerated is dependent on norms of aesthetic acceptability for that place'. However, the fact that Abanoch is a relatively small rural community where people often know one another seems to allow people to deal with ASB in a more informal and localised way. This is explored in Chapter Eight, where community responses to ASB are examined. More generally, respondents appeared to be more willing to accept the occasional piece of low-level ASB because they often knew who was causing it and '*on occasion you just have to accept that there will be ASB*' (Shivon, 40s, Crian). Thus, while most of the types of ASB identified by the studies conducted by Millie et al., (2005) and Harradine et al., (2004) are present to varying degrees in rural environments, there are some differences which relate to the context and perception of ASB in rural Scotland. Young people are often identified as the main perpetrators of ASB, something the next section of this chapter explores.

6.5 ASB and the 'youth problem'

The 'problem youth' narrative that has developed in relation to ASB legislation and policy has been heavily critiqued in the literature. As Brown (2013: 540) notes, Tony Blair draws a clear link between young people and ASB, saying 'the scourge of so many communities are young people', drawing particular attention to young people who are in economically and socially deprived communities. The media fuelled this image by printing sensational stories about anti-social young people, with headlines such as 'Parenting with ASBO kids' (Daily Mail, 27/03/13), which Burney (2006) notes, mean that youths hanging about have become synonymous with disorder and public threat.

Indeed, youth have become so closely linked to the ASB agenda, that, as Brown (2013) notes, one of the key indicators on the British Crime Survey for measuring perceptions of anti-social behaviour is ‘teenagers hanging around on the street’. This ‘problematically conceptualises the *presence* of young people in public spaces as equating to an actual measure or instance of anti-social behaviour’ (Brown, 2013: 541, emphasis original). Although the ‘problematic youth’ image noted in the urban literature usually centres around housing estates with high social and economic deprivation, there was still a sense that young people hanging about in specific areas in rural Scotland was problematic:

‘The worst bit is probably around the centre of the town, around the square, that’s where young people do congregate. I don’t like going through there at night by myself’ Molly (60s, Abanoch)

This quote highlights how in some cases, the mere visible presence of young people in public space is enough for them to be considered anti-social, even in rural contexts where young people are typically better known. As Gough & Franch (2005) note, public space is often an autonomous space that young people can carve out for themselves, yet, this is problematic because young people frequently get hassled in public space (Brown, 2013). This is more apparent in rural locations, where idyllic versions of the rural mean that young people can feel unwelcome in public space:

Sarah: It’s not like we feel like we can hang out in the square anyway, like folk watch you an’ that

Cammy: Nae wonder we go to the park or up the [area of woodland], well no so much now [*sic*], since the police are always up there. There is nowhere to go.

[Focus Group, Abanoch, 15-17]

Young people often feel marginalised in public space, required to hang out in the peripheral areas of the villages. Nevertheless, participants commonly described ‘the square’ and ‘the park’ in both case studies as the locations where young people hang about. The spaces where young people hang out are therefore an important factor for the police and other enforcement organisations to understand. The community police officer in Abanoch talked about these locations being the ‘hotspots of youths causing nuisance calls’:

On patrol in the car with the officer today and we do a 'figure of eight' circuit through the square, up through an area of council housing, back through the square and round by the park. This is the second time he has done this route, so I ask him about it. The officer says he hadn't really noticed that he was consciously patrolling in the way I described, but that he always pays 'special attention to the park and square, as that's where the majority of youth problems are'. The next circuit he changes the route, but he still pays extra attention to the square and the park'... [Field diary, Abanoch, 13/10/2011]

This highlights a specific spatiality to young people in the community of Abanoch, and the way the police consequently patrol in response to perceived issues in the case studies. Many of the participants identified young people as responsible for low level ASB – noise, underage drinking and graffiti – something that the young people themselves also highlighted. The young people *as risk* or young people *at risk* paradigm is therefore a useful way of understanding what the nature of ASB means to them.

6.5.1 Young people 'as risk' or young people as 'at risk'?

An interesting theme to emerge from this research, something which mirrors ASB and young people in other contexts, is the way that young people are assumed to pose a risk to civility by their presence in public space, something which is assumed to restrict other peoples access to these areas (Hughes, 2011). The response of the police often typifies this attitude, yet, young people are often portrayed as at risk within public spaces, a group that needs to be protected from a number of possible threats (Brown, 2013; Hughes, 2011). As Brown (2013: 541) notes, 'young people are, sometimes simultaneously, portrayed as being both *at risk* in public space, and being *a risk* to the successful running of public space and the safety of its other users.

This is something identified by the young people within this study. When asked to rank ASB scenarios in terms of how bad they thought they were in relation to ASB, a number of young people felt that hanging about the park and the square should be top:

Zoe: There are people you don't get on with hanging about the park and you feel threatened...I would put that near the top.

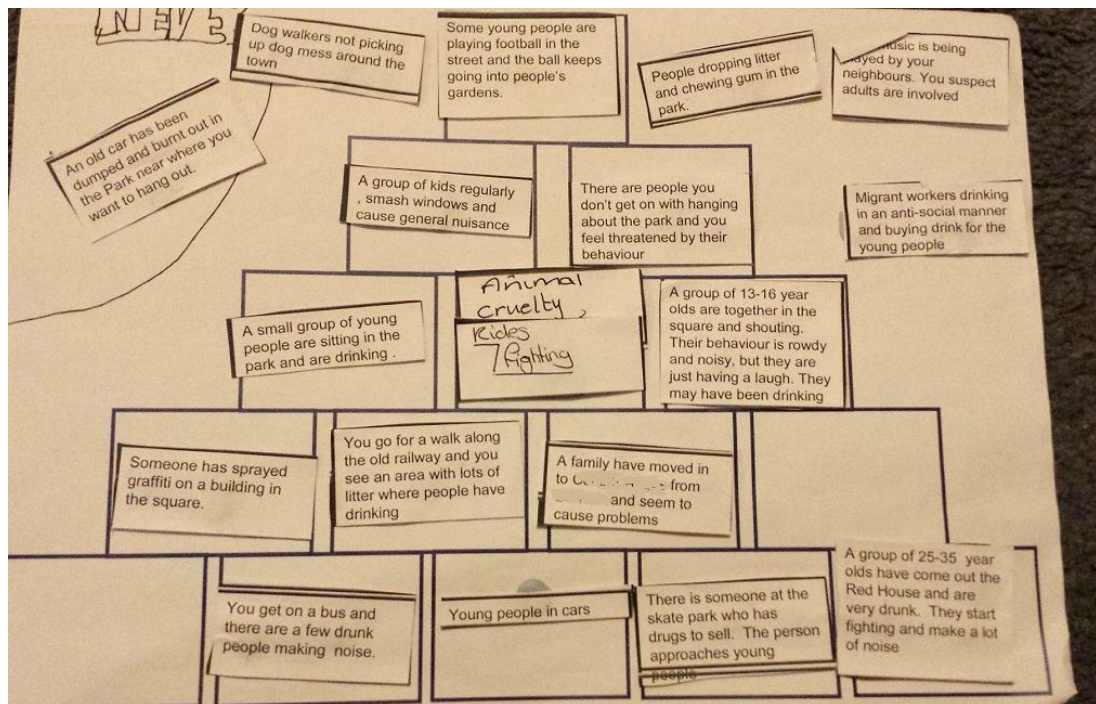
Bex: I think it is there, I hate that.

Zoe: Aye, they yell abuse and that, I feel self-conscious walking past...

Bex: It doesn't happen that much though, people dropping litter, and dog shite...eugh. I hate that.

[Focus Group, Crian, Ages 13-15]

Alongside this conversation, the young people were filling in a triangle of the harm that they thought certain incidents caused (see figure 6.2):



As can be seen, the top row of the table (the scenarios of ASB that the young people

Figure 6.2: Harm matrix, Crian (ages 13-15)

thought caused most harm in Crian) is dominated by low level ASB. The second row from the top, however, dominated much of the conversation and made the young people feel threatened. This is interesting because it highlights the fact that young people can feel as threatened by other young people hanging about in the village, as other, older participants in the community. In one of the younger focus groups in Abanoch, this was clearly highlighted, through this interaction:

AW: What about drunken people coming out of pubs?

Sarah: Yes, weekends in summer is bad. It is worse when you are like by yourself though because it is even worse. Especially when there are only 5 or 6 other people and they are drunk and older.

Cammy: To someone who doesn't know a single person on the bus and they are all shouting and that...

Sarah: It is really scary. The men all wolf whistle and that. I hate it.

Cammy: It can be intimidating, even to boys.

[Focus Group, Abanoch, ages 15-17]

Again, the group were completing a 'harm diagram':

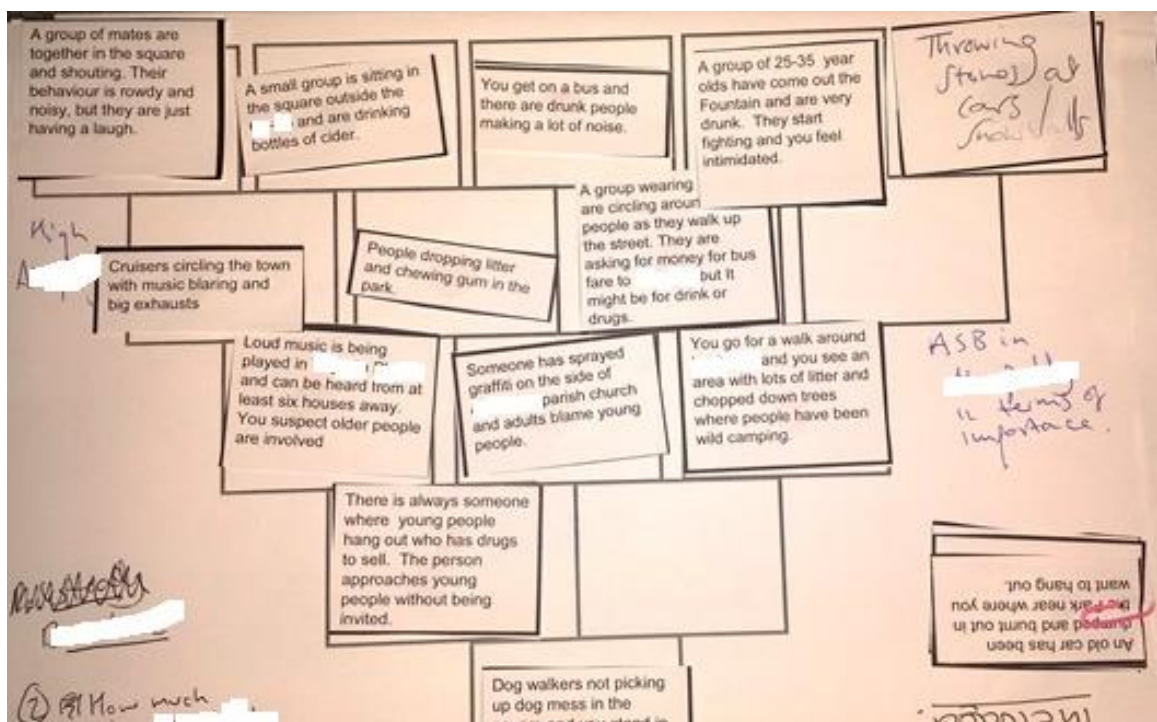


Figure 6.3: Harm matrix, Abanoch (ages 15-17)

This group was interesting because they had so many different scenarios that they thought ranked highly in Abanoch that they decided to invert the triangle. This was one of the early focus groups, where the activity was split between frequency and harm. Figure 6.3 shows the scenarios that they ranked as the most common in Abanoch. The ASB they identify, again, tends to be typical of low scale urban ASB, yet the conversation that went alongside the discussion of the triangle shows that many young people felt threatened.

These quotes highlight the ‘youths at risk’ narrative, while also underlining the significance of temporality and spatiality in relation to understanding the nature of ASB in rural Scotland, with a distinctive time and space when various forms of threatening ASB is more prevalent. Broadly speaking, the youth at risk/as risk paradigm in rural Scotland mirrors that examined in the urban based ASB literature. The nature of the ASB described by young participants tended to be those which Figure 2.1 describes as ‘high scale’ that is, affecting more people within the community. Yet, one of the interesting themes to emerge when examining the nature of rural ASB was the role that the elderly play in ASB in Abanoch, which is again, a very context specific form of ASB within this village.

6.6 The elderly as responsible for ASB

An unusual explanation for who causes ASB emerged in Abanoch. Although there are cases where the elderly have had ASB legislation used against them, for example, eighty-nine year old ‘Mad Frankie Fraser’ recently got an ASBO⁹, as 6.5 argues, the young tend to be labelled as anti-social much more readily. In Abanoch, however, in addition to retirees being identified as anti-social through second-home ownership, the elderly were mentioned in relation to ASB in other ways. Abanoch attracts a number of coach tours each week in the summer and as the young people and youth workers pointed out, although the mainly elderly passengers provide a financial boost to the town, they frequently create congestion within the village square. This was equated by a youth worker as being similar in terms of ASB as young people hanging out in public space:

Recounting a story of when a bus load of old people turned up in the square, and at the same time group of six young people got moved on for being anti-social, yet they weren't doing anything, Jacki makes the point that the behaviour of the old people and of the young is the same, they are both 'standing about'. So why did the young get moved on and the elderly didn't...context and perception of ASB... [Field diary, Abanoch, 06/09/11]

Young people, also talk about the ASB associated with the elderly and talk about being unfairly branded as anti-social by those in the community who let their dogs mess:

⁹ Frankie Fraser, who was dubbed Britain's most dangerous man by successive Home Secretaries, received an ASBO for a nursing home fight (Caroe, 2013)

AW: And who is responsible for not picking up the dog dirt?

Kris: Old ladies...they always blame us for being anti-social and that, ken hanging about...

Campbell: Old woman [old lady voice] 'I don't want to pick it up'

Lee: 'I don't want to touch it I might get aids or something!'

Kris: They are anti-social, all the grannies hanging about the square when they get off the bus.

[Laughter]

Campbell: Aye, I think the old people cause more bother than us, at least we move when we are asked...

[Focus Group, 13-14, Abanoch]

This highlights the role that the young people perceive the elderly to play in relation to ASB in Abanoch; not only do they think that they are being unfairly moved on, but that the unwritten rules that appear to apply to them hanging about do not apply to the elderly in the square. Perception and context are therefore central in understanding the nature of ASB, because clearly a large number of people would contest the notion that these tourists on bus trips are anti-social. It also indicates a broader point that ties into notions of the rural idyll, with tensions between different age groups reflecting different viewpoints on how public space in the village should be used. Some of the young represent the deprived rural (Gilling, 2011), whilst many of those who visit Abanoch are looking for the idyllic representations of the rural reproduced in leaflets and marketing. As has already been mentioned in this chapter, the young are perceived to be anti-social because of the fact they are young, while the elderly, appearing to also be 'hanging out' are not perceived to be problematic (Brown, 2013; Stephen & Squires, 2004). Notions of the types of rural are therefore important for deciphering what groups are welcome in rural localities and which are considered 'othered' (Gilling, 2010; Halfacree, 2006; Sibley, 2003).

6.7 The primary causes of ASB in rural Scotland

The literature identifies a number of causes of ASB. As the Home Office (2003: 7) notes, ASB has many precursors from 'family problems, poor educational attainment, unemployment and alcohol and drug misuse'. Although these factors contribute to ASB, successive governments blamed a fundamental 'lack of respect' as the

underlying cause of ASB – something that New Labour sought to address with the introduction of the respect agenda (Home Office, 2006b, 2003). As Garland (1996: 450) notes, this is part of a new criminology of everyday life, where crime is seen as ‘continuous with normal social interaction and explicable with reference to standard motivational patterns’.

In the study conducted by Millie et al., (2005), they asked their participants about the causes of ASB. Within the responses, Millie et al., (2005) identify three main narratives explaining the causality of ASB – social and moral decline, disengagement from mainstream society and ‘kids will be kids’. As Burney (2009: 61) highlights, the former two categories assume ASB is getting worse, while the latter category assumes that young people have always misbehaved but because society is changing, behaviour that would have previously not have been labelled as ‘ASB’, now is. In many of the interviews conducted in this study, participants slip between all three narratives, often in the same sentence. It is therefore difficult to disentangle the factors that cause ASB; however, the next sections seek to use the work by Millie et al., (2005) as a basis for analysing the most common stated causes of ASB and attempting to contextualise them rural Scotland.

6.7.1 ASB as a symptom of social and moral decline

A key part of the New Labour strategy to curb ASB emerged from the belief that the broader social and cultural changes in society has resulted in a decline in ‘the moral standards and family values and a decline in respect’ (Millie et al., 2005: 68). This is an overarching narrative that runs through the ASB agenda and assumes that there has been a loss of respect and that the ‘golden age of innocence’ has, in some manner, been lost.

I have a chat with a guy (60s/70s) at the bar and explain the project. What strikes me is the way he recounts ‘getting up to mischief’ when he was ‘a laddie’, describing a game where they used to steal balls off the nearby golf course. Yet, he still finishes his story with ‘but...it’s worse now than it used to be with alcohol and that... [Field diary, Crian, 18/08/12]

This argument underlines the temporality of ASB over a longer timescale, where participants argued that, in addition to the daily and weekly temporality of dog dirt and alcohol-fuelled ASB from pubs, ASB ‘wasn’t like this in my day’.

There is a wealth of evidence to suggest that this golden age of innocence is remembered through rose-tinted spectacles, with Pearson (1983), highlighting the various moral panics that have occurred over the generations. By tracing various moral panics through the ages from the ‘Artful Dodger’, the ‘Victorian Boys’ and ‘Mods and Rockers’, Pearson (1983) highlights the role that various moral panics have played in policy creation designed to control and exclude socially marginalised groups’ (Burney, 2009: 51). Garland's work also draws a clear line between the responsabilization strategies of recent governments and the criminalisation of behaviour. In driving forward a communitarian agenda, both the coalition government and the preceding Labour government aim to instil a sense of civic responsibility and redress social and moral decline. This policy development has been heavily critiqued in the literature (see Squires 2006), nevertheless, within this study there was a clear theme that ASB was in many cases caused by a social and moral decline. Participants generally discussed the social and moral decline in a number of different ways, but most frequently, as ASB being caused by a lack of respect.

6.7.2 ASB and a lack of respect

In the Millie et al., (2005) study, 51 % of respondents indicated that a lack of respect was the main cause of ASB. A similarly large number of participants in this study highlighted a lack of respect as being a key driver to ASB in rural Scotland:

‘I think ASB comes down to a lack of respect. A lack of thoughtfulness. It is sometimes just easier to put up with it a bit ...you need to pick your battles. I don’t mind a bit of hanging about and that, but a lot of the ASB is just disrespectful. It is so key to teach respect in schools, but they don’t and that lies at the bottom of ASB...’ Glenda (40s, Crian)

Much of the rationality surrounding the ASB debate stems from the concept of ‘respect’ which is also linked to notions of civility and the ‘proper British society’ (Blair, 2005). As Glenda highlights in the quote above, ‘respect’ and ‘thoughtfulness’ are used interchangeably and links to ASB being an indicator of social and moral decline. A number of participants linked a lack of respect to a ‘lack of responsibility’, amongst both young people and adults:

George: A lot of ASB is down to sheer thoughtlessness and lack of respect. Staying away from out and out vandalism, a lot of the rest of it is down to thoughtlessness. Why pull up the plants we have just put in?

Issy: It is down to education...

George: A lack of civic responsibility...both from the parents and the children...

Focus group (Pride Abanoch, Community Change Group)

Here this community change group in Abanoch are reinforcing the Government position that ASB is down to a lack of respect, education and is the function of a social and moral decline within society. Whether, however, there has been a loss of 'respect' within society is debateable, particularly when thinking about parenting responsibility. As Cohen (1973, 2003) highlights, there has been a general decline of hierarchy across society, but as Millie (2009) argues, that is perhaps no bad thing. By driving forward the 'respect agenda', it is argued that New Labour gave 'insufficient attention to the underlying causes of ASB and to the substantive issues of social justice' (Koffman, 2008: 130). This is something the ASB agenda in Scotland has tried to redress by focusing on the prevention of ASB rather than always the symptom (see section 1.2.1). This section and the preceding section focus on the structural, society wide shifts in criminal justice policy. The next two sections focus more explicitly on the individual causes of ASB.

6.7.3 Parenting/ blame the parents

In addition to blaming young people, blame for the breakdown of the social and moral fabric of communities is often levelled at single parents. The Respect Action Plan drew a clear line between the 'critical role' parents have in developing good values and behaviour, warning that 'where parents behaviour becomes problematic, children can be placed in serious risk' (Home Office, 2006b: 6). ASB was directly linked to chaotic lifestyles, where 'parental irresponsibility, poor household organisation, inadequate daily routines and ill-equipped, unhygienic and untidy homes' was responsible for the unruly behaviour of their children (Parr, 2010: 719). Although critiqued as being overly simplistic (Parr, 2010), in this study, it was clear that this policy discourse chimed with participants, who linked common forms of ASB to parental responsibility.

At a focus group with members of a community change organisations in Crian, parental responsibility was discussed as being ‘*the key to preventing ASB [because] ‘a lot [of ASB] can stem from the example shown in the home*’ (Pride Abanoch, Community Change Group). In addition, there was a consensus that while it may be the young people that were committing ASB, the parents are responsible for disciplining and teaching their children about what is and is not acceptable behaviour. Indeed, one of the youth workers believes that a central part of her role is stepping in when the parental responsibility has broken down:

‘Oh yes, parental impact is big. I think my role is....well for them [the young people] to be accepted in their own families and peer group they need to be anti-social and ‘earn their stripes’ so you can’t blame the young ones. So it is a case of definitely making impact....and we are, because we are making them question their beliefs and values....and stepping into that role. So I see my role as getting them to a point where they question themselves and think ‘why am I doing that’ and maybe even to the point where they might challenge their parent’s behaviour’ Jacki (Youth worker, Abanoch}

This local authority employed youth worker therefore sees her role as intervening when parental support breaks down. The governmentality framework that underpins much of the anti-social behaviour agenda, seeks to ‘make problems and interventions thinkable’ (Parr & Nixon, 2008: 162). An interesting development in this project in relation to the ‘blame the parents’ narrative is that the young people seemed to realise that parental influence was also important factor in their behaviour:

Bruce: Aye, if you are drinking at like 15. See if your parents are drinking, I would say you have a 20% bigger chance of drinking because that’s all you have seen.

Zoe: Depends on how bad your mum and dad are.

Bruce: If your mum and dad drink every day and come in, there is no doubt you are going to drink, you have like a 99% chance. I know some people whose mum and dad are really into drinking and drugs and all that and their kids are really crazy and they drink and take drugs and fight and all that. So the parents are the problem.

Zoe: It is influence...

Bex: Nature versus nurture...

[Focus Group, Crian, Ages 13-15]

This exchange is insightful for understanding how young people view the role of

parents in influencing their behaviour. A number of new ASB initiatives linking the young person's behaviour to outcomes that affect their whole family may have an influence on the behaviour of young people. These Family Intervention Projects have however been critiqued in the literature for being a populist approach which fails to take account of 'wider social circumstances, such as poverty that make parenting far harder' (Parr & Nixon, 2008: 172). In the example above, the young people highlight the fact that it is not poor parenting alone that has caused the perceived decline in social and moral standards, but also an increase in drink and drugs impacting on communities.

6.7.4 The role of drink and drugs

The connection between alcohol and ASB has been examined in a number of urban based case studies, with participants highlighting the fact that drinking to excess has always been part of the 'Scottish culture' (e.g. Hadfield, 2006). There are two strands of ASB associated with alcohol which were highlighted in Abanoch and Crian – underage drinking and drink-related anti-social behaviour.

As evidence has grown in relation to the role that underage drinking plays in connection to ASB caused by young people, a number of new pieces of legislation have been introduced aimed at curbing anti-social alcohol consumption. A key one for this study is the introduction of byelaws prohibiting the consumption of alcohol in outdoor public areas in the case study locations. This gives the police the ability to issue a fixed penalty notice and dispose of any alcohol found to be being consumed in outdoor public spaces (Scottish Government, 2007). As the local council highlights, the prime target of this byelaw is that it enables an 'important early intervention tool in addressing the problems experienced with offensive behaviour related to drinking in public' (Local Authority, 2008). However, despite the introduction of the byelaws, underage drinking remains an issue in both case study locations. On shift with the police officer in Abanoch, we patrol the square, park and then the bowling club:

Underage drinking is something we get phone calls about, they leave their rubbish. They used to hang about in the square, but now it tends to be out of site in the park and over the past couple of weeks in the bowling club. So it is important I go to these spots to try to deter this behaviour... [Field diary, 13/10/11, Abanoch]

It is not the consumption of alcohol itself that is the main problem, with many participants (including the community safety Sergeant) admitting to drinking underage themselves, but the resulting ASB:

'Ken, I don't mind the young ones haeing a drink doon the park or that, as long as they tidy up and don't make a nuisance o' themselves. But as soon as they leave glass and graffiti and all that, well that's no on oan needs stamped oot.' Bert (50s, Crian)

The focus in the ASB agenda in the case study areas has targeted the consumption of alcohol in public places in an effort to reduce the other forms of ASB that stem from excess alcohol consumption. In Abanoch, in particular, the associated ASB caused by excess alcohol consumption was noted.

Interestingly, the spatial nature of ASB associated with alcohol consumption operated at a meso-scale (local authority level) as well as micro-scale (village locality level). Due to the remote rural nature of this village, people tend to stay in Abanoch and go to the local pubs. The inaccessibility of Abanoch was noted as problematic, with poor public transport late at night meaning people could not go to other places easily and drink alcohol. Many therefore choose to drink in Abanoch itself. There are two pubs which cause the majority of the reported problems – one targeted the younger clientele, while the other is located on the square and attracts a slightly older group of drinkers. Again, in relation to alcohol disorder in both case studies, the consumption of alcohol itself was not seen as problematic, but the ASB associated with alcohol consumption that was the challenge. Because locals tend to drink within Abanoch, noise nuisance, associated with the night-time economy caused primarily when the pubs in Abanoch closed and individuals congregated in the square, was the common complaint amongst participants.

Crian, classed as accessibly rural, seems to have less of a drink-related ASB problem. Residents instead talked about *'going to [nearby town] to get hammered, so there isnae the same noise problems here'* Jeff (20s, Crian). This illustrates the impact that meso-scale decisions have on the situated forms of ASB, with broader structural transport decisions and the degree of rurality having an impact on the role of alcohol within the communities of both Abanoch and Crian. Furthermore, at a local scale, the sites of the pubs and public spaces in both case study locations impacts on the types of ASB present. Figure 6.4 below is a map that the young

people did as part of the focus group in Crian. They were asked to draw on where they thought the ASB they had discussed in previous activities occurred:



Figure 6.4: Map of ASB in Crian (Focus Group, 13-15)

Figure 6.5 below is the equivalent map done by young people in Abanoch:



Figure 6.5: Map of ASB in Abanoch (Focus Group, 13-14)

What is clear in both these maps is there is a definite local, context dependent, spatiality to the ASB that is being identified by the young people. Parks are common locations for underage drinking and dog dirt, while the word ‘intimidation’ is clear in the Abanoch map. Linking back to section 6.5.1, there are clear notions of the young people identifying risk in specific places.

6.7.5 ASB as a symptom of disengagement

Another narrative explored by Millie et al., (2005) is the belief that the causes of ASB is rooted in an increasing disengagement of a significant minority of children, young people and adults from wider society (Millie, 2009). Disengagement was something highlighted by a number of participants, particularly in Crian, where it was argued that apathy and disengagement was at the root of an unwillingness to tackle ASB:

‘Apathy and education are the main drivers for ASB ...and if you have that level of apathy, the police won’t respond...that is what we were told. We went to the Community Council and we asked ‘is this what you guys expect?’ And were told ‘yes’. Everything here was derelict, there was graffiti and the whole place was just...no one put any effort in. And that was the expectation...’ Glenda (40s, Crian)

Disengagement in this case is linked to apathy. The argument that Glenda makes is

that much of the low-level ASB caused by nuisance behaviour would stop if people challenged those who commit low level ASB. Apathy is commonly linked to the underreporting of ASB, with Harradine et al., (2004) noting that apathy is a significant contributor to the underreporting of incidences of ASB, particularly in rural areas. In contrast to much of the urban literature around ASB, disengagement at a local scale in these case study locations was seen as a barrier to the community change groups tackling ASB effectively. The community change groups in both case studies readily blamed the ‘getting something for nothing culture’ as a cause for the ASB in Crian and Abanoch.

More broadly, disengagement through social exclusion has been identified as a major cause of ASB (Brown, 2004; Jamieson, 2012). In contrast to the rural idyll discourse which has dominated much of the thinking about rural research, Gilling (2011) points to social and service deprivation in rural areas. Narratives around young people and ‘a lack of things to do’ in rural communities, means that disengagement from communities is more likely. The deprived countryside particularly affects young people and those on low incomes, as isolation and the cost of transport are prohibitive to many individuals. All the focus groups with young people in this study mentioned the fact that the two villages ‘were boring’. In one group, the lack of things to do was linked to behaviour that the community recognise as ASB, even if the young people themselves do not:

Kris: [name of village] is well borin’ like. There’s nithin tae dae.

Lee: Except garden runs, that’s a laugh

[AW asks for an explanation of garden runs – basically involves jumping one garden to another without getting caught]

[Laughter]

Kelsi: Aye, Darren got caught by the al’ woman at [name of road]

Lee: This place is well borin’!

[Focus Group, ages 13-14, Abanoch]

This excerpt of the focus group illustrates the fact that these young people believe Abanoch is lacking in facilities for young people and consequently they commit low-level ASB as a way of keeping themselves amused. Boredom is a commonly cited

cause of ASB, however, as Millie (2007) notes, boredom is not a cause of ASB, but rather a symptom of other issues. Structurally, in rural locations, this commonly points to a lack of service provision for young people and consequently a broader disengagement from community life, something which is referred to as the ‘deprived countryside’ by Gilling (2011: 77).

6.7.6 ‘Kids will be kids’

A final narrative that Millie et al., (2005) notes as significant for explaining ASB is ‘kids will be kids’. This links back to the ‘age-old tendency for young people to get into trouble, challenge boundaries and antagonise their elders’ (Millie, 2009: 68). This narrative gives a sense that ASB has not gotten worse, but rather people’s tolerances of behaviour have changed. This therefore links closely to understandings that ASB has changed over time for the worse, with the subsequent criminalization of behaviour previously considered acceptable (Burney, 2008; Jamieson, 2012; Stephen and Squires, 2004). Many of the participants in this study, when discussing forms of ASB, would reflect on behaving in a similar way when they were younger:

Bill: But what about going to the cinema for a punch up Jim, if we had this focus group back 40 years ago...do you think the equivalent of you guys would be complaining about them?

George: Yes, probably!

Bill: It used to be you that the drunks would get lined up at the Co-Op butchers and nobody would think about how intimidating that was. Everybody at 10pm was lined up and some fights would go on, some would run about in cars, some were drunk...I remember it, but I never thought at that time that we were causing a problem. And we were intimidating.

Mags: It is just youth...

Bill: It wasn’t so malicious as it is now. If that happened now, there would be stuff wrecked, whereas when we did we would fall out with one another and fight...

Issy: Back then we also had community policemen walking about the streets...

[Focus Group, Pride Abanoch]

As the participants in this focus group note, the social and moral decline narrative seems to overstate the fact that ASB has always existed. Often these sentiments

were echoed with discussions about the importance of allowing ‘kids to be kids’ – distinguishing between ‘low level nuisance behaviour’ and ‘behaviour where there was definite malice’ (Jim, 50s, Crian). Although this is important, it makes determining what exactly ASB is and what is not even more complex and relies on the police and other enforcement agencies making moral and situational judgements.

6.8 A critical reflection on theory applicable to ASB in rural Scotland

As chapter two highlighted, there are a number of possible narratives which help theorise ASB in rural Scotland. Most useful, however, is the governmentality framework because the narratives around social control and governmentality are pertinent to the ways that ASB is framed in ASB policy. Governance projects are frequently constructed, rationalised and implemented through the expert knowledge of actors – groups and individuals - drawn upon by the state (Herbert, 2006). The state controls and acknowledges which actors they recognise as having legitimate input into decision making, meaning that the ‘community is not some independently existing entity, but is rendered sensible through a particular state epistemology’ (Herbert, 2006: 73). In a similar way, the production of social control – what constitutes ASB and the groups and individuals responsible for maintaining it – is determined by those who are in powerful positions (Foucault, 1977; Holt, 2008; Millie, 2009). Thus, the context in which a government policy is implemented inevitably is enacted in different ways by different individuals.

Garland’s work on the new culture of crime control is a useful way of conceptualising the arguments in this chapter. The nature of ASB, as described through the various ASB policy introductions, highlights the fact that ‘the political culture of crime control now takes it for granted that the state will have a huge presence, while simultaneously claiming its presence is never enough’ (Garland, 2001: 173). This leads to the paradoxical situation where the state strengthens its punitive forces, illustrated in this case through the criminalizing of behaviour previously considered non-criminal, yet also acknowledges that it is no longer able to govern on its own and requires communities, private security and commercial organisations to enforce the additional punitive laws (Garland, 2001). As Flint (2006) notes, for example, the politics of conduct and technologies of control aim to control the behaviour of tenants within social housing through self-regulation.

The ASB agenda has emerged from this system, with the governmentality framework used as an intended way of governing that gets away from the centralised, bureaucratic state. Instead, the aim in this case is to ‘instrumentalise the self-governing properties of the subjects of government themselves in a whole variety of locales and localities – enterprises, associations, neighbourhoods, interest groups, and, of course, communities’ (Rose, 1996: 352). The governmentality thesis is illustrated in a social housing context through the explicit disciplining powers that providers of social housing have (including eviction) and the responsabilization of tenants through ‘self-regulation of their behaviour in a manner consistent with the norms of a wider communities’ (Parr, 2009: 367). The governmentality thesis appears to play a central role in the way that both rural case study areas operate, with clear themes around ‘the culture of control’ (Garland, 1997) and a strong communitarian agenda instilled by both enforcement organisations and local community groups.

The main critique of the governmentality thesis is that it is ‘fundamentally diagnostic rather than descriptive and therefore not concerned with the actual operation of systems of rule but particular stratum of knowing and acting’ (Rose, 1999: 19 cited in Mckee, 2009). Mckee (2009) notes importantly, however, that studies which seek to offer a micro-level analysis of the lived experiences in community need to understand the complex webs of local actors when thinking about the way that policy is enacted, in a way that she terms ‘realist governmentality’. It allows questions about the nature of ASB in rural areas to be asked, particularly around the construction of ASB in rural areas and the relationships, contexts and power that define it.

6.9 Conclusion: Rural ASB or ASB in rural areas?

This chapter has explored what the nature of ASB in rural areas and the chapter finishes by asking whether this should be defined as ‘rural ASB’ or ‘ASB in rural areas’. The critical governmentality approach, allows us to question whether the problems ASB policy sets out to address actually exist in rural Scotland, and, more importantly, whether the causes of ASB as laid out in policy, are constructions of a problematic ‘other’. This form of the governmentality thesis helps to frame some of the debates about the impact of and responses to ASB in rural Scotland, and in

particular, the impact particular contexts, locales and policies have on understanding ASB.

By exploring the dominant themes and narratives to emerge from the data, it is clear that while there are some clear similarities in the form that ASB takes in rural Scotland, there are also some narratives to emerge from participants which are not accounted for in the existing urban ASB literature. Primarily, the different narratives relate to second-home ownership in Abanoch, the power differential between the 'rich incomer' and the 'local community' in relation to a planned renewable scheme and the unique way that young people understand ASB in both case study areas. These differences prompt the question: should the ASB described by participants in Crian and Abanoch be classed as 'rural anti-social behaviour' or 'anti-social behaviour in rural areas'?

There is a distinction between these two narratives, with 'rural ASB' suggesting that there is a distinct form of anti-social behaviour that exists in these case studies locations. 'ASB in rural areas' on the other hand suggests that the ASB experienced by participants in this study is essentially the same forms of ASB experienced in urban areas, albeit in a rural context. This is a question that remains difficult to answer, because as has been highlighted within the chapter, context, perception and the localities of the communities are key in determining whether an action is or is not ASB. It is easier to make the case that some of the ASB witnessed and described by participants in the remote rural community of Abanoch could be constructed as rural ASB. Narratives around second home ownership are unaccounted for in the urban literature and highlight a specific community worry in Abanoch.

Having said that, the predominant ASB that the police and local authority deal with in both case studies are forms of ASB that are also frequently dealt with and experienced by communities in urban contexts. The ASB described most frequently in Crian in particular, mirrors the urban typologies explored by existing studies, namely, acts directed at people, environmental damage and disregard for community/personal wellbeing (Burney, 2009; Millie et al., 2005; Millie, 2009). In these cases, the ASB would be more accurately described as ASB in rural areas rather than rural ASB. Even with regards to ASB that would be considered exclusively 'rural' such as wild camping, the anti-social behaviour is not the wild-

camping per se, but the litter that the wild campers leave behind. In many cases therefore, the argument could be made that it is the nature of ASB in rural areas rather than rural ASB that is being described by participant.

However, the next chapter explores the impact of ASB in rural Scotland. While this chapter has concluded that the majority of ASB in Abanoch and Crian is similar to that described in urban locations, the impact and responses to ASB in rural areas are quite different. The impact of scale, the larger scale geographies and the degree of rurality appear to influence the micro geographies of the rural space of Abanoch and Crian. Thus, broadly speaking, the nature of ASB in rural Scotland is similar in many ways to that found in urban locations. However, at the micro-locality scale, there are some distinctive forms of ASB identified in this chapter.

7 The impact of ASB on the lived experience of rural populations

7.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the impact of ASB within the case study locations, focusing on the ways that impact can be measured, both spatially and across different situated contexts, exploring the differential ways that ASB can affect different people in different ways. Utilising Innes & Weston's (2010) perspective on harm and Innes's (2004) signal crime theory, the first part of this chapter explores the lived experiences of ASB in the case study sites of Abanoch and Crian. As chapter six explored, debates about ASB are becoming increasingly technical. This chapter seeks to move beyond a purely definitional debate because at the individual level people rarely distinguish between ASB, crime or disorder. Halfacree's (2006) theory describing the totality of rural space as a triad between the lives of those in rural areas, the rural locality and representations of the rural provides a useful way of locating Innes's signal crimes work in rural Scotland. The chapter begins at the level of the individual, focusing on the rural situated context and exploring how people think, feel and act in response to ASB, before moving on to think about the role that some of the more structural influences have on ASB.

7.2 (Re)focusing on the individual: The importance of harm

The contextualised and situated methodology utilised in this project lends itself to exploring the impact of ASB on the everyday lives of those living in Abanoch and Crian. Exploring the impact at the scale of the individual allows for variations between the two case study locations to be contextualised. Innes (2004) work on signal crimes and signal disorders is a useful place to begin examining the impact of ASB in rural communities. As section 2.4 explores, the signal disorder perspective is a particularly useful way of unpacking the way people think, feel and act in relation to ASB, which in turn illuminates the impact that ASB has on rural communities. The notion of harm lies at the heart of the signal crimes perspective (Innes and Weston, 2010), with harm being a base principle of deciding whether ASB is a policing matter or not. This helps prevent the over-reliance on false binaries between crime and ASB to drive responses to ASB. Indeed, understanding harm allows the different kinds of impacts that particular problems have upon the public to be teased out.

Figure 2.1 is an important way of bringing together the theoretical input of Innes and Weston's harm matrix and the practical application of Millie et al., (2005) ASB typology. As Innes & Weston (2010: 4) note, 'the public do not draw clear distinctions between crime and anti-social behaviour. Rather they attend to issues on the basis of whether they impact upon their individual or collective security'. This is a view that was frequently stated by community members in this project, with participants able to identify when something was a serious crime ('murder', 'serious assault'), but would often conflate minor crime and ASB and use 'impact' as the differentiating factor:

'It is a narrow line – where kids are being loud and messing about, then it isn't necessarily a crime. But if the perception of that is that it is affecting them – if someone is in town late at night and it's [ASB] impacting on them, then it's potentially verging on a crime. I would say it's a crime if it has a serious impact on someone else' Jeff (20s, Crian)

'Criminal is when...property is damaged probably and someone's quality of life has been really demoralised and lowered and they can't go out the door and they are scared to leave and that sort of thing. When you seriously impact on someone's life that would be criminal...' Gillian (40s, Crian)

The dividing line between a crime and ASB also caused a degree of debate in the focus groups. Most participants agreed that all crime constituted anti-social behaviour, but ASB did not constitute criminality - put succinctly by one respondent:

'All crime is anti-social like, how can committing a crime not be? But you can be anti-social without committing a crime...although if there is lots of ASB going on that is definitely criminal...' Gillian (40s, Crian)

Not only does this highlight frequency as contributory factor to whether a behaviour should be considered anti-social or not, but also that if people are repeatedly exposed to ASB it tends to impact upon their lives in a more fundamental manner, something which Figure 2.1 labels as scale (Innes and Weston, 2010). This chapter argues that low intensity, high scale behaviours, such as dog dirt, can adversely harm and impact on rural communities in ways that the police and local authority rarely acknowledge.

As Innes & Weston (2010) explain, by framing the impact of ASB in this way, a more nuanced way of thinking can be developed, especially about who is impacted by ASB and to what extent. Categorising issues such as dog dirt as a parochial harm helps to direct the appropriate policing and community responses. It is possible

therefore to begin to explore what kinds of impacts particular problems have upon the public by thinking of specific forms of harm rather than ASB.

As Innes & Weston (2010: 45) note, categorising harm in the way described above 'is a defining quality of signal crimes perspective (SCP)'. SCP distinguishes between crimes and disorders, contending that some 'are more impactful than others because of their capacity to induce and trigger negative social reactions' (Innes & Weston, 2010: 45). The work by Innes (2004) identifies three main groups of negative reaction; 'cognitive' effects where there is a change in how the person thinks about their safety, 'affective' where there is a change in how people feel and 'behavioural' where there is a change in how people act in relation to perceptions or experiences. The impacts of ASB on Abanoch and Crian are going to be analysed by examining the role of these three cognitive effects.

7.3 The cognitive effect of ASB on the everyday lives of rural populations

The 'Broken Windows' thesis proposed by Wilson & Kelling (1982) suggested that disorder can provoke fear of further disorder which helps create a physical and social environment where further disorder and crime can flourish. Consequently, it is argued, residents are fearful and more likely to withdraw from public spaces and less likely to intervene when social disorder is witnessed. Social control therefore declines, offenders 'become bolder in their actions and offenders from outside the area are attracted to it' (Jacobson et al., 2008: 21, Wilson & Kelling, 1982).

Broken Windows thesis has informed much of the anti-social behaviour policy, with the Respect and 'Zero Tolerance' policing agendas relying heavily on the rationale laid out in Wilson & Kelling's study (Fyfe, 2009). However, there are a number of critiques of the Wilson & Kelling's (1982) thesis, including Innes (2004) paper on signal crimes. Within this paper, Innes (2004) argues that, although situated social actions are important, evidence from Skogan's (1990) seminal study (later questioned by Harcourt, (2001)), is explainable by reference to wider structural societal issues. Moreover, it is argued that people do not respond in the same way to 'broken people' as they do to 'broken windows'. Despite this however, Innes (2004: 340) concedes that broken windows is helpful because 'it engages with the problem of why, when asked about their experiences, members of the public attach considerable

significance [...] to comparatively trivial forms of physical and social disorder in their neighbourhoods’.

Signal crimes perspective builds on this part of broken windows thesis by breaking reactions down into thinking, feeling and acting. The first of these, the cognitive effects, draws a clear line between broken windows thesis and the public reaction to ASB. In particular, as Bannister et al., (2006) highlight, incivilities often signal a breakdown of community, with narratives of decline and incivility linked broadly to fear of crime. In this study, there were clear cognitive effects of ASB, with some forms of ASB causing people to think about their environments in different ways. In Crian especially, a number of residents mentioned the ‘Broken Windows’ thesis, particularly in relation to how ASB impacts on the way they think about the place:

We then offered to paint the neighbours across the road...and he has now taken it upon himself to paint...we painted everyone's fences and gates, the derelict building here, we offered to do it but he won't allow us. We have gone down the lane to start doing the council thing, the council area. It is definitely...the more we keep it looking good, the less hassle we get...DEFINITELY! It is about how people think of the place, if they see somewhere run down...you attract trouble... a boarded up window...that is the end. Even a building with scaffold up and being renovated is pretty attractive [to ASB]. Wet cement is pretty attractive too! Glenda (40s, Crian)

This quote highlights a commonly held view, particularly in Crian, that the environment influences the way that people think about the neighbourhood. There does appear to be some cognitive effect of both public and parochial forms of ASB and the harms that they cause. Glenda's interview was interesting because her and her husband moved into Crian seven years ago to develop a derelict property – ‘it was previously a magnet for ASB’ – and they suffered a lot of ASB initially including being personally attacked. Instead of using the cognitive effect of this negatively however, they used it as a way of galvanising and redoubling their efforts to improve the neighbourhood. The cognitive effect of ASB in this case is therefore not a prolonged negative experience, but a positive one.

In other cases, however, forms of ASB do have a lasting negative cognitive impact. The young people in Abanoch were criticised by one of the community change groups in the town, with members stating:

Jim: It is apparent the kids in [Abanoch] don't care...

Cathy: Or we don't think they care, because they don't help and cause us grief by pulling up our plants and that...

Jim: Aye, but that's just the way with kids these days

[Focus Group, Pride Abanoch]

The cognitive effect of some of the public harms that young people are accused of causing in Abanoch acts as a way of signalling other potential societal problems to members of the community. Being crime or disorder conscious is significant for constructing judgements about levels of risk and fear in the community, even in rural areas (Innes, 2004). The cognitive reactions to ASB often become affective, with anxious (or galvanising) thoughts in relation to a problem leading to an emotional response to ASB.

7.4 Linking emotion to ASB

A key facet of analysing the impact of ASB are the links between ASB, the social harm footprints theorised by Innes & Weston (2010) and the emotional impact and effect this has upon those suffering the effects of ASB. Across the broader social sciences, there has been a growing interest in emotion and feeling, 'understood as a hybrid, embodied phenomena neither simply biological nor wholly reducible to social influence' (Cromby et al., 2010: 873).

Civility and morality are often linked to emotion, with Garland (2000) highlighting the fact that the 'tough on the causes of crime' rhetoric from the New Labour government in the late 90s, sought to create links between ASB and civility, respect and morality (Bannister et al., 2006; Millie, 2007). ASB tends to evoke emotional responses from those in the community affected by it; with a key aim of the respect agenda to build responsabilization into those living in communities 'blighted by crime' and empower individuals to tackle ASB by themselves or with the help of a myriad of new services developed for this purpose (Mackenzie & Fraser, 2001: 16). In terms of Crian and Abanoch, Mackenzie & Fraser (2001) highlight the different emotional impacts experienced by individuals within different communities, dependent on the levels of deprivation and ASB. The rural context forms an important link between the emotional responses of individuals to the types of ASB they experience.

When talking about ASB in Abanoch, participants tended to talk about the emotional effect of ASB in terms of being ‘angry’ and ‘frustrated’:

Issy: I said ‘as a member of Pride Abanoch it is so frustrating. We give up our time to help this town and we go out and find that the plants have been pulled up and there is dog dirt everywhere’...I asked that something would be done about it or I would go to the police.

Mags: It annoys me intensely when we have ASB like that; it is about respect or a lack of it more like...

[Focus Group, Pride Abanoch]

In contrast, the impact of ASB on the affective responses of participants in Crian appeared to be more serious. A number of participant’s recounted stories of encountering ASB that made them feel ‘scared’ and ‘intimidated’:

‘I was walking and a guy came up and he says ‘I know where you live’ and I thought, ‘God, I have to walk home tonight’...the thing is in a village, you know everybody,...you know everybody, I knew who he was and where he lived as well...it is a small community. But I thought ‘hmm’, I know he’s no right...I was terrified’ Gillian [40s, Crian]

‘On one occasion I confronted a group of kids who were throwing stones at my hoose. I went to the woman’s door [parent] that I had never met before – and to her credit she came down and said ‘no it isn’t my child that is doing it’ and then witnessed her child doing it! So she confronted the child and then started shouting at me and I thought oh dear I am going to get flattened here...’ Glenda [40s, Crian]

These quotes underline a more serious emotional impact to some of the forms of ASB being committed in Crian, reflecting the more serious impact and nature of ASB being committed here. Using Figure 2.1, the impact of the neighbourhood ASB in Crian tends to be associated with personal harm, meaning that those who are impacted are so in a more profound way. In contrast, the emotion associated with the ASB in Abanoch tends to fall under ‘parochial harm’ in Innes & Weston’s (2010) schema, meaning that the community more widely is affected by low-level forms of ASB. This is clearly a generalisation; there are people in Abanoch impacted by more serious forms of ASB and not everyone in Crian suffers from the personal harm outlined in the quotes above, but at a general level, there typically tended to be more serious forms of ASB (and associated emotional impact) in Crian.

Moreover, there is also a clear spatial and temporal dimension to the impact of ASB, with the emotional impact of certain ASB being dependent on the time, place and frequency of occurrence. As McKenzie et al., (2010) note, if someone has suffered from ASB previously, they are likely to be more fearful of it occurring again. As Innes (2004) also highlights, not all crimes and disorders have the same 'values'. There are differences related to gender and age, with the emotional experience relating to ASB differing. These nuances are going to be explored in the next section of this chapter, however at a general level, there are differences between the emotional responses of participants in relation to ASB in Abanoch and Crian that appears to be directly related to the forms of ASB experienced.

7.5 The embodied experience of ASB in rural Scotland

Moving beyond the social constructivist approach to conceptualising the rural is important for beginning to explore the material dimensions of the 'rural experience' (Cloke, 2006). As Woods (2010: 837) argues, rural representations are developed through the staging of different performances, both in the ways that the rural is represented for tourists and visitors through representations in text and performance, and in the 'less-staged manner in the everyday enactions of people who live and/or work in the countryside'. This everyday enactment of the daily normative routines of those in both communities plays a large part in the lived experiences of those living and working in rural communities (Halfacree, 2006).

As earlier chapters have explored, Halfacree (2006) suggests a three-fold model of rural space which has three facets – rural localities, formal representations of the rural and everyday lives of the rural. Taken together, the three-fold model 'allow interrogation of the complex interweaving of power relations, social conventions, discursive practices and institutional forces that are constantly combining and recombining in rural places' (Cloke, 2006: 24; Yarwood & Mawby, 2011: 219). In particular, the rural representations developed to market Abanoch for the tourist market differ from the berry-production imagery that is prominent around Crian. The rural localities and the representations of the rural present in Crian and Abanoch therefore differ, with the communities having distinct spatial differences which mean that that the impact of ASB differs respectively in each community.

A key narrative developed by participants relates to the rural context and the size of the communities. The everyday lives of those living within Crian and Abanoch mean that individuals have frequent interactions with those in the community who are identified and accused of being the perpetrators of the ASB. The idea of connections within the community, people knowing each other in the case studies, while somewhat of a rural cliché (Donnermeyer and DeKeseredy, 2014), was a dominant narrative in both communities. While this has clear implications for the responses to ASB of the community (explored in chapter eight), it also has strong repercussions for the way that ASB impacts upon the everyday lived experiences of ASB.

It has already been established that Crian and Abanoch, while having some forms of ASB in common, have different nuances in terms of the ASB that causes the greatest emotional and physical responses. Abanoch appears to have more of the low level parochial harms, albeit with specific spatiality connected to ASB in the night time economy and with associated public harms. Crian, on the other hand, suffers from a greater degree of personal and public harms by way of neighbourhood fighting, disputes and general rowdiness. Consequently, knowing the perpetrators of ASB elicited different responses from the community in Abanoch than in Crian.

ASB experienced in Abanoch frequently elicited a frustrated and angry emotional response, but because Abanoch is a small rural community, many of the young people that were blamed for the parochial forms of ASB were known to those who were frustrated by this behaviour:

'[B]ecause you know people here, you can sort stuff out at a one-to-one level. Yes usually if you are having an argument with someone here you usually know them. I mean, if I'm ever having an argument with any of the kids drinking down the [area of Abanoch], I am always like 'well if you don't move I am going to go home an [sic]tell your mum! You don't feel scared at all because most people know who the young ones are and aren't afraid to shout at them... [laughter]' Kate (30s, Abanoch)

The impression given by residents in Abanoch is that the representation of the rural revolves round the intertwining everyday lives of its inhabitants. This means that, for the most part, the impact of any personal harm from ASB appears to be able to be overcome more easily because of the community links and relatively small spatial scale of Abanoch. Because Abanoch is a remote rural location, there is often a

greater knowledge of the individuals causing persistent ASB. This also appears to reduce the fear and worry related to the dominant forms of ASB committed by these individuals. Consequently, the impact of the ASB appears to have less of an impact on community members.

Participants in Crian, by contrast, tended to discuss the fact they knew the perpetrators of ASB, not in the positive way as described in Abanoch, but negatively. The fact that community members frequently knew of the reputation of an individual perpetrator of ASB prevented residents from stepping in and stopping the ASB:

'In small towns it is the same families though, you know like we will go through a wave of ASB and it is a whole family and we all know who they are and we all know what they have done or what they are doing. And it just seems to go on and nothing seems to get done about it either because people are scared to do anything about it because it is a notorious family so they turn a blind eye because of the consequences.' Gillian (40s, Crian)

In Crian, therefore, the impact of knowing the individual perpetrators of ASB had the opposite effect to that in Abanoch. There therefore appears to be two distinct types of knowing and rural knowledge, represented by Abanoch and Crian. The residents of Abanoch appear to rely on a personal knowledge, where the person(s) committing the ASB, are often known individuals living within the community. In Crian, the type of knowing is different, where the reputation of the individuals responsible for the ASB means that there is alarm and distress associated with knowing the individuals. This also reflects the dominant forms of ASB present, where ASB tends to be at the more serious end of the scale in Crian. While being cautious not to over-generalise (affective responses to ASB do vary at the level of the individual and depend on the lived experiences of those in the community), at a general level, the rural idyll narratives are stronger in the data from Abanoch, whilst the deprived and endangered narratives are more strongly represented in the data from Crian (Gilling, 2011). These variations in representations affect both the nature and the impact of ASB in the case study locations.

The next sections of this chapter are going to explore some of the nuances in the data; the gendered experiences of the impacts of ASB, along with the impact that age plays in relation to ASB (Brown, 2013). In particular, the third element of Innes (2004) signal crime perspective, which relates to behavioural responses to ASB, will

be explored.

7.6 ASB modifying behaviour of the everyday lives of those in rural Scotland?

As has been noted, for an incident to be classed as a ‘signal’, it needs to have an expression, content and effect (Innes, 2004). A cognitive impact and the emotional response (‘thinking and feeling’) link to the expression part of the signal disorder have already been explored in the previous sections of this chapter. A modification in behaviour as a result of observing or being a target of ASB is the effect of witnessing the content. The example Innes (2004: 342) uses is of a mugging; the individuals that witnessed the incident talk about it as an expression and, as a result of witnessing the mugging, they no longer allow their young children to go into the town centre unaccompanied – which is a modification in behaviour. The perception of risk to the children is the content.

There are a number of ways that people respond and react to ASB – from avoiding places to mobilizing people and active responses. Chapter eight is going to explore in detail the community responses to ASB, whilst this section is going to focus on the avoidance behaviours associated with ASB. As the literature highlights, ASB is typically worst in poorest areas – areas where the victims have limited options for relocation or to avoid areas where ASB is likely to occur (Bannister et al., 2006; Millie, 2009). However, as Bannister & Scott's (2000: 15) review of the cost of dealing with ASB makes clear, when certain locations get a ‘reputation for neighbourhood problems’ a reduction in demand for the houses in that location usually follows. There is therefore a social differentiation of the impact of ASB.

Rural Scotland, however, tends not to have the same concentrated areas of deprivation. In this study, the majority of participants, when asked about how ASB impacts their everyday routines in the case study areas, stated that it does not really impact that greatly. Janet (70s, Abanoch) explains:

AW: In what ways does ASB impact on your life?

J: I feel very safe here in [Abanoch], you know, it doesn't really affect me much. There isn't anywhere I would actively avoid...I don't go to the pubs, but that's personal choice...' Janet (70s, Abanoch)

This was a common opinion in both case study locations, people felt a degree of safety, usually linked to the size and scale of Abanoch and Crian. The scale of both Crian and Abanoch means that ASB is not particularly focused in its spatiality or impact in either community. As chapter six highlighted, there are locations which attract different forms of ASB, which, rather than being linked to deprivation, appear to impact specific civic spaces in both villages. The maps undertaken by young people in both case studies show these distinct spatiality's (see section 6.7); with the young people, avoiding specific locations due to the forms of ASB taking place there:

AW: Are there any locations that you avoid in Abanoch?

Becca: I think there's junkies, like people take drugs...up the [area of the village]...

Hayley: Really? I didn't know that...

Becca: Yeh, I heard that, like I try to avoid it if I can...

[Focus Group, Abanoch, 15-17]

An interesting theme to emerge from the ride-alongs with the police related to the fact that the impacts of more serious forms of ASB appear to mask the minor forms of ASB that may also be present within the community. An excerpt from the research diary underlines this issue:

About an hour into the ride-along, the community officer gets a radio message, which although I couldn't hear it, he told me that it instructed him that a resident in Abanoch had called in about some young people running through her garden. Although definitely not dismissing the incident as trivial, the officer tells me 'the thing about a lot of the youths causing nuisance calls we get up here...well they wouldn't even merit a policing response in Glasgow and in many cases wouldn't count as ASB. In some ways the residents here don't know how lucky they are...' Field diary, Abanoch, 23/11/11

The response of the police to ASB in rural areas will be examined in more detail in chapter nine. However, in terms of the impact of ASB, this quote highlights a narrative that contrasts with Innes & Weston's (2010) work. In addition to the scale and intensity of ASB linking to the impact of ASB, in the absence of high intensity harmful forms of ASB, ASB deemed by the police and local authorities as 'low harm' can in fact impact considerably upon residents within these rural communities.

The broader social context of the community is therefore important for framing the potential harm that ASB causes. Indeed, Innes's (2004: 342) work on signal disorders highlights the difference between a signal disorder from 'mere noise' – mere noise is defined as 'the plethora of incidents and occurrences that, in contrast to the signal disorders, assume no real significance to people in the routines of daily life, and consequently are not consciously attended to'. It is therefore problematic to call all instances of dog dirt, for example, a signal disorder per se. Many instances of this ASB do not have the 'content' or 'effect' parts of the signal disorder and it does not modify behaviour or signal a perceived risk of broader ASB. Yet, if this 'mere noise' occurs frequently, then it could be argued that it begins to become a signal disorder:

I mean, take dog dirt, it is disgusting. We all know that, we all can see that. But the police and the council don't listen and think we are all just whinging about it. But it can be dangerous and fair enough, it doesn't seem serious to the...but day in and day out...it needs to stop...Isobel (70s, Abanoch)

This incident of dog dirt, although a low-level public harm that, arguably, is not part of the policing remit, actually was causing Isobel as much alarm and distress over time as one of the personal harms outlined in Innes & Weston (2010) work.

Thus while the work of Innes & Weston (2010) and Innes (2004) is useful for exploring the everyday lived experiences of ASB in rural Scotland, the situated context within which ASB occurs also plays a key role in understanding the impact of ASB in rural Scotland. The first half of this chapter has explored the 'lives of the rural' part of Halfacree (2006) diagram, using the work of Innes to explore the impact of ASB on the everyday lives of the individual. However, as Halfacree notes, the rural locality and the representations of the rural also influence rural space and consequently the impact of ASB on rural communities.

The broader social contexts also influence how people think, feel and act in relation to ASB, with the interplay between gender and age impacting on the way that the rural is 'inscribed through relatively distinctive spatial practices', such as social class and deprivation in rural locations (Halfacree, 2006: 51). These broader social contexts, while influencing and being influenced by the everyday lives of the rural community, also play a key part in shaping the way that ASB impacts upon

communities. The next sections of this chapter are therefore going to explore gender and age in relation to the way that ASB affects the individual.

7.7 The gendered impact of ASB

The role of gender in ASB has been explored in a number of settings. However, as Carr (2010) notes, the governmentality perspective has not prioritised gender in the way it has been applied to ASB literature, where, for example, Parr & Nixon (2008), locate family intervention practices in relation to the gendered experiences of ASB responses. The media commonly represent the ‘anti-social welfare recipient’ in gendered ways, typically as a single mother with unruly children reliant on the state and living in social housing (Carr, 2010). Holt (2008: 210) notes that the gendered responses of the government to single mothers, entitled ‘the new parenting guidance: from deviance to everyday socialisation’, highlights a ‘concern about the lack of attention paid to gender when investigating contemporary technologies of government which are deployed in response to ASB’ (Carr, 2010: 79).

The rural literature has a richer history of examining the role that gender plays in the rural environment, with gender being recognised as a ‘analytical praxis’ around which social groups and rural life is differentiated (Panelli, 2006: 74). Primarily these accounts have examined the gendered experiences of farming and community life, with a number examining other ‘performance roles’ carried out and (re)produced by females in rural communities (Edensor, 2006; Panelli, 2006). The gendered impact of ASB on both Abanoch and Crian is nuanced, with Short (2006) explaining that the rural idyll narrative shapes and sustains patriarchal gender relations, with women in the rural idyll being described as ‘the wife and mother at the heart of the community, not the single professional woman’ (144). The formal representation of the rural therefore impacts on the everyday lives of woman in rural Scotland (Halfacree, 2006).

In this study, the role of gender was apparent in the way that ASB impacted upon the residents of Abanoch. Although generally residents reported being frustrated and angry rather than frightened in relation to the ASB, in a focus group with a community change organisation, an interesting interaction took place:

Mags: We go out once a fortnight and come home about midnight from the friends. And down at the [name of pub] they are out in the street drinking. And it is a drink free zone. I am totally intimidated to pass them and I always cross the road with my husband and they throw litter down...

George: Really? You are intimidated?

Mags: Yes, I mean, they are rowdy and aggressive

George: They are annoying, but I also find them pretty harmless, you know shouting and stuff...

[Issy sticks up for Mags]

Issy: Aye, but you are a big man George, Mags' a wee woman...it's different

George: I don't know if I like being called big...

[Laughter]

[Focus Group, Pride Abanoch, Abanoch]

Although not explicitly related to gender roles, there were occasions where females expressed fear and alarm and their male counterparts discussed their responses to ASB in terms of frustration and anger.

However, more of a common way that gender roles were expressed in this study related to the perceived impact that certain upbringings have on young people. The impact of single parent families in both Crian and Abanoch was often discussed in relation to the ASB experienced in both communities. As one resident in Crian put it, the 'invasion of single parents' to the village, has created a wave of anti-social young people who are responsible for much of the parochial neighbourhood harms. In discussing single parents, the inference from participants is that the most problematic families are those that are single female-headed and with young, male children. These gendered impacts are summed up by the following participant:

'Since they started shipping anybody oot here, ken whether they wanted to be here or not...well that's when a lot of the neighbourhood bother started. It's no just in Crian mind, but it's bad now [sic]. They young yins dinnae stand a chance these days, they miss havin a male role model in the hoose....ken that's where [male youth worker] is excellent' Shivon (40s, Crian)

A common theme to run through the data related to the impact that single female-headed families had on neighbourhoods because of the perception that they do not/cannot instil the same morals as a traditional family. While this media-fuelled image has been heavily critiqued in the literature (Burney, 2009; Millie, 2009; Parr and Nixon, 2008), it is nevertheless a common (mis)conception that single parent families are at greater risk of having children who may get involved in primarily parochial forms of ASB. This kind of narrative was more common in the interviews conducted in Crian, mainly because of the larger areas of social housing and the poorer social and economic contexts. Interestingly when participants in Abanoch were talking about the impact of the breakdown of traditional family values, they tended to reference other larger towns and cities like Glasgow; the inference being that these problems tend to happen to others not living in this village:

‘We’re no wantin the problems o’ a city transferred here, I mean, Glasgow, when they come up to the campsite [in the summer] you can tell they’re from the city. And the cities, Dundee’s the same, they have lots more social stuff going on, like breakdowns [in relationships] and stuff than here...but then who am I to talk, I’m a single mother!’ Zara (40s, Abanoch)

There was a sense that those in Abanoch were seeking to maintain some sense of idyll, something that people attributed with being threatened by increasing numbers of ‘outsiders’ moving to Abanoch (see section 7.10). Gender is only one ‘established account of social difference’ (Panelli, 2006: 77) which impacts on experiences of ASB in the rural - age is another key axis of which illustrates some of the nuances in the way that ASB impacts on people in rural Scotland.

7.8 The role of age in the lived experience of ASB in rural Scotland

As chapter six explored, age is a key part of the anti-social behaviour narrative, with young people typically being targeted by ASB policy and blamed by many in the community as being a cause of the low-level parochial forms of ASB. This section furthers this discussion by exploring how public and parochial harms are familiar to, and impact upon, many of the young people in this study, where ‘young people are just as likely as older people to identify ASB as a local problem’ (Innes & Weston, 2010: 22). This goes against the common myth that ASB simply reflects inter-generational tensions. Age is also a key contextual part of ASB – reflecting different ways that the rural is constructed and (re)imagined by people of different ages.

The intergenerationality that appears to be more apparent in the context of rural communities is one way that some remote rural locations appear to foster closer community links, reducing the impact of some forms of ASB:

AW: Tell me about intergenerationality and the community café?

Stu: I think there is quite a mix in there and it breaks down barriers and some of the young people are saying hello to me that would never speak to me normally.

Bert: A good example is a few weeks ago when one of the little lads – David – was beautifully behaved and then suddenly clicked the other night that he was one of the kids with the CS spray [two young people were CS sprayed by the police accidentally when they were trying to arrest another family member] ...you would not associate that child with that behaviour...I know now him as a nice kid, not as the dangerous one in the papers...the café helps with that stuff.

[Focus Group, Forward Crian]

The scale of rural locations does mean that it is easier for generations to mix, which in some cases removes some of the fear associated with young people. However, in other cases the young people as risk/young people at risk dichotomy was apparent in both case studies (Brown, 2013; Hughes, 2011). Through focus groups with young people, the impact of ASB on many of the participants was clearly articulated. As Burney (2009) notes, young people report that a desire to congregate in groups is driven by a sense of safety in groups. This ‘intention to remain safe in public space by hanging out in groups, is perceived as threatening behaviour to other users of public space’ (Brown, 2013: 542). The impact of ASB on young people can be more severe than that experienced by other members of the community, with young people seeking the safety of groups as a response consequence (Crawford and Lister, 2007). These issues were highlighted in a focus group conducted with young people. In the following exchange, a group of young people are discussing the ‘Coopy Corner’ in Abanoch, a location that they talked about ‘as their space’, even although it forms part of the public square:

Hayley: People fighting outside the Coopy?

Sarah: All the time.

Hayley: I would say this is scary but you can kind of avoid it.

[general murmurs in agreement]

Sarah: Unless you were involved, you know.

Cammy: Just turn your head and walk on. If you are in a group, it's safer though.

Hayley: Yes, but then people think it's you that's started it

Sarah: It's unfair.

Hayley: I get the late bus back from [nearby city] sometimes, but I don't like it at all because it is always like the taking the drunk people who have just had a night out home and you know none of them have ever....like...you know....I don't know how to say this...abusive or anything. But you don't feel comfortable. Like they can do stuff. You feel safer in groups, definitely.

[Focus Group, 14-17 year olds, Abanoch]

This excerpt illustrates the impact that fighting and general rowdiness of those coming out the pubs has on the young people who witness it. Ironically, the perception is that those at 'Coopy Corner' are the ones perceived to be anti-social, yet one of the reasons they are hanging about in 'a crowd' is because they feel safer doing so (Brown, 2013; Crawford and Lister, 2007). With the exception of youth workers, the adult participants within the study often referred to young people as 'teenagers' 'youngsters' or 'kids' – usually in a pejorative way. Yet, young people appear to be impacted upon by ASB in more of a fundamental way than the adults within a community realise. This also underlines the work carried out by Brown (2013) and Hughes (2011) and suggests that whilst vulnerability and old age can cause certain emotional impacts associated with ASB, being young also carries a certain vulnerability associated with being in certain spaces at certain times. This illustrates how spaces of representation can vary depending on the age of the individual, which consequently impacts on the everyday lives of those in the rural and the rural locale, illustrating how rural space is intersected by the three-fold understanding of spatiality proposed by Halfacree (2006).

The rural locality is the third part of Halfacree (2006) model, which, through relatively distinctive spatial practices, means that the physical, social and political environment is more than just a backdrop to rural ASB, influencing the forms of ASB and shapes the way that responses to ASB occur (Yarwood & Mawby, 2011: 219). The next sections explore how broader processes shape the rural locality, with deprivation, tourism and migration being key areas which have an impact in relation to ASB in both Crian and Abanoch.

7.9 Deprivation, ASB and impact on rural communities

Much of the ASB policy development emerged from examples of ASB, typically characterised by prevalence in deprived inner city areas (Home Office, 2006b; Jacobson et al., 2005; Millie, 2008). The Scottish Government in 2011 stated that ASB affects some communities more than others, with deprivation highlighted as one of the most important factors for determining the levels of impact that ASB will have on a community, which is one of the reasons the Scottish Indices of Multiple Deprivation was utilised in this project (Scottish Government, 2011a). Indeed, a key aim of the P.I.E.R (prevention, intervention, enforcement and response) model is to ‘deliver long-term solutions for communities by addressing the root causes of ASB...such as deprivation’ (Scottish Government, 2011: 13). Linking deprivation and ASB together clearly influences government responses, both nationally and locally. However, as chapter six explored, deprivation is also linked to certain forms of ASB – with Crian experiencing more serious forms of ASB than Abanoch. Deprivation is also linked to the impact that ASB has on individuals in the community.

The rural idyll as a concept has been heavily critiqued in the literature (Cloke and Little, 1997; Cloke, 2006; Meek, 2006; Woods, 2009; Yarwood, 2010). Gilling (2011) uses the four representations of the countryside – the idyllic, the endangered, the frightened and the deprived – to highlight some of the competing realities of rural life and the impact these have on ASB in rural Scotland. Gilling (2011) discusses the deprived countryside in terms of service deprivation, whereby ASB is typically theorised as primarily an urban problem, council service provision is aimed at tackling ASB in these locations. The response to ASB at a local authority level is therefore spatially uneven, with remote rural communities often poorly serviced by

council resources. The rural locality plays a key part in driving forms of representation and the everyday lives of those that live in rural communities.

At the spatial scale of the two case study sites, the rural locality and contexts in relation to deprivation are different. Crian, as chapter three noted, is the more deprived of the two case studies on all measures in the SIMD except service provision (being accessibly rural, there are better bus connections to larger urban centres). However, even as one of the more deprived rural locations in Scotland, Crian does not have the same levels of multiple deprivation as, for instance, parts of Glasgow. Both communities also have areas with large houses and relative wealth. The rural idyll narrative is more apparent in Abanoch, where despite being more deprived in a services sense than Crian, it has lower deprivation across all other measures. However, the impact of ASB associated with deprivation does not appear to be as spatially bounded as in some of the deprived inner city locations examined in urban-based ASB literature. The inner city housing estates discussed in the ASB literature are often treated as bounded entities of deprivation; areas which suffer the impacts of ASB and multiple deprivation are referred to in policy and in academic literature in bounded and spatially defined ways. Yet these studies also frequently lack the micro-analysis and contextualisation that is needed to examine the impact of ASB on a locality.

In both Crian and Abanoch, the scale of analysis for ASB in this project was the village locality as a whole – not only because the physical geography of both villages is small, but also because the rural nature of the villages means that they are spatially distinct, separated by farmland from neighbouring towns and villages. The impact of the ASB in both locations, however, was not bound to the areas within Abanoch and Crian that could be considered as deprived:

[Describing the location of ASB] ‘Well to be honest, like we live at the quieter end of the town. But thing is, ken, cos the place is small, you hear people leaving the pubs and hanging about in the square. And a lot of the tourists stay up here, so you get that noise too.’ Zara (40s, Abanoch)

In Crian, the impact of ASB also did not seem particularly spatially bounded to areas of deprivation:

‘Ken, although a lot of the neighbourhood bother an that is doon [name of area of social housing], it isnae isolated there...the ones living there I think come

doon this end to cause bother...they get bored. The park is also down here, so the young ones and dog walkers all come past here.’ Bert (50s, Crian)

Although the majority of the ASB discussed in these terms would fall under ‘parochial harm’ and ‘public harm’ in Figure 2.1, even the ASB classed as ‘personal harm’ appears to impact on the wider community. In participant interviews in both case studies, people referred to ASB that had occurred in personal circumstances. This often occurred at the end of interviews when asking how ASB had affected the participant:

‘It hasn’t really affected me too bad, apart from the dog dirt and the littering! But, ken my mate lives up in [name of social housing] and he’s been impacted loads, ken the neighbours shouting and swearing and banging on his door at all hours...I tell him to go to the police...’ Jeff (20s, Crian)

Deprivation therefore seems to be less of a proxy for ASB in both these communities than the literature and policy suggests. ASB also appears to be less spatially bound, with people talking about the village as a whole when referring to the impacts of ASB.

The spatiality of social housing also seems to play a role in the impact of ASB in both villages. There have been clear links drawn between the impact of social housing in a community and the ASB experienced in those communities (Burney, 2009; Flint, 2006, 2004). Crian in particular has significant areas of social housing, not to the same extent as some inner city locations, but still significant in the overall housing tenure mix with Crian having data zones from the Scottish Indices of Multiple Deprivation which are in the bottom 15-20% most deprived in terms of housing.

The layout and micro-scale geographies of the village also have an impact. The majority of the social housing in Crian is located right in the centre of the village – which as one villager put it *‘means your nose is rubbed in the bother’*. Bert does not live in the area of social housing, yet seems very aware of the impact that the area of social housing has in relation to ASB in the community:

AW: Are there parts of Crian that suffer worse from ASB?

Bert: Aye well, the [name of social housing] is bad like. Ken neighbours fighting and noise...I think it makes a difference having a scheme in the

middle of the place, like...you are aware o' the rabble gan on. Ken, the police going up and the kids in the square...it would make you think twice if you didni ken that maste o it's harmless... Bert (50s, Crian)

The spatiality of social housing therefore appears to impact on the local lived experiences of ASB. In this context, Innes (2004) work on signal crimes is useful for illustrating how the visible nature of the parochial harm described by participants in Crian creates a 'signal disorder'. Essentially, because spatially the areas of social housing in Crian are in close proximity to the centre of the village, parochial forms of ASB are less 'hidden'. In Abanoch, these more harmful forms of ASB, which certainly existed in small pockets in the village, did not form as large a part of the ASB narrative being told by the participants in this study. The impact of ASB described by participants was correspondingly different, underlining the importance of the rural locality on the everyday lives of those in Crian and Abanoch.

The final section of this chapter explores the role of 'outsiders' in Crian and Abanoch. It neatly illustrates the three parts of Halfacree's (2006) model, with rural localities providing a particular environment to attract migrant workers in the case of Crian and tourists in the case of Abanoch. This both shapes and is shaped by the multiple representations of the rural that Abanoch and Crian have, representations that affect the everyday lived experiences of those in the case study areas.

7.10 ASB caused by outsiders: The impact of tourists and migrants

An interesting dimension to the ASB in both case study locations is the role that outsiders play in both communities. It became a key theme in the way that respondents discussed ASB, yet is not something which is accounted for in the urban based ASB literature. In some of the European literature around ASB, migration is discussed in relation to the role that race has played in, for instance, parts of Amsterdam (Koemans, 2010) and violent drug wars in Sweden (Burney, 2009). In relation to rural Scotland, however, the nature of ASB tends not to involve gang violence, with parochial and public harms being identified as more common. In Abanoch and Crian, alcohol was identified as the main driver to the ASB associated with 'outsiders'. The different representations and contexts of Abanoch and Crian means that the ASB associated with 'outsiders' also differed, with Abanoch having a large tourist industry, while Crian has a significant seasonal migrant work force.

The impact of these groups on those living in Abanoch and Crian are explored in the next two sections of this chapter.

7.10.1 The role of Stag and Hen parties in Abanoch

As chapter three highlights, Abanoch is a relatively wealthy village whose economy relies heavily on the tourist industry. Edensor's (2006) work on performing rurality is useful when thinking about the role that stag and hen parties have in rural ASB in Abanoch. In particular, there is competition between the various groups who utilise the river near Abanoch and frequent contestations about what activities are appropriate in this area, with adventure tourists coming into frequent conflict with the fishermen who spend large amounts of money on fishing permits (Edensor, 2006). Within the 'enactions and stage management' associated with these disagreements are 'assumptions and allegations about those who properly belong on these stages and those who lack performative competence' (Edensor, 2006: 485). Edensor (2006: 485) notes that that split is often between 'townies' in rural locations that are accused of 'being insufficiently aware of 'country ways'' and country folk who are 'derided as rural throwbacks who cannot competently perform according to the 'modern norms''. The rural locality and the way that the rural is represented are therefore inextricably linked, something which creates distinct spatial impacts.

In Abanoch, these tensions are clear; the village relies on tourists to provide an income to the independent shops, while the significant outdoor sports market provided by local companies attracts a number of stag and hen parties. Those living in Abanoch seek to present an image of the village which (re)produces these representations of the locality, something which simultaneously impacts on the everyday lives of those living in Abanoch through the tourists which are attracted to the village. The impact that stag and hen parties have on the community of Abanoch symbolises the broader outsider/insider tensions between those whose businesses relies on the trade and those who see these groups as responsible for much of the ASB that takes place in the summer season. The following quote by Roxy, who runs an adventure centre and hostel, sums up some of these issues:

'We had a big stag party and one of the stags accidentally hit on the girlfriend of someone in the town – and I was living here at the time - I had been working...they were being happy in the house and I was chatting at the gate and we just saw locals arriving and turning up. There was 30 of them and 30 stags and me in the middle. The police turned up and said 'who are you

and go away' and I was like 'I can't, I live here' and they said 'what do you expect, you have a stag party here' and so they blamed us...the thing is we have 3 stag parties here a year and we don't advertise for them. And the amount of cash that a stag party brings in to the town makes it worth it' (Focus group, Abanoch Business Association)

There are some interesting points made by Roxy, reflecting her responsibility as an accommodation provider for stag and hen parties. She is almost apologetic about having these groups stay in her accommodation. The 'responsibilization' of individuals, as Garland (2001) notes, is in this case, extended to someone who is enabling a stag party – a group of people that certain members of the community do not want in Abanoch - to stay in the village. The police officer is criticising Roxy, for not 'vetting' those who are staying at her hostel and making it clear that she is in some way responsible for ensuring that they adhere to the community norms whilst in Abanoch. Neal & Walters (2007) talk about rural locations as a complex mix of regulation and non-regulation, with Roxy's quote highlighting the 'panoptic gaze' and forms of regulation that are enacted in order that a sense of the rural idyll can be protected.

Stag and Hen parties clash with the idyllic rural norms represented and (re)produced in Abanoch, with a lack of respect of the local community being noted as a key impact of the tourist industry in Abanoch. Indeed, a common comment related to the fact that stag parties often come from their relatively anonymised urban environments, where people kiss and dance in clubs without fear of being entangled in a feud. In rural communities, however, there is often a complex 'code' of relationality, where those in the pubs have history and are often friends and/or related. When stag parties parachute into these rural pubs, often drunk, rowdy, dressed in outlandish clothes, and then try to dance/kiss/leave with local females, the local male community can become protective and start fights:

'Yes, that is what I mean – a lot of the girls have history with the guys that you need to understand if you want to get on here and a lot of stags rub these lads up the wrong way. The girls are all comfortable with the guys here, but the stags want to touch and dance and if people are drunk then they feel that some new guy has hit on his bird...' Jack (20s, Abanoch)

Stag parties are therefore seen as one of the key groups of 'trouble makers' causing

problems with the locals¹⁰. A number of participants in Abanoch talked about the ‘issues’ with stag parties, namely their inability to follow the norms of the rural community (Edensor, 2006). It tends to be a spatial and temporal situation, with problems occurring in one of the pubs, primarily at night on weekends and in the summer. The impacts relating to stag parties therefore also have a specific geography. The police acknowledge this, stating that:

‘Stag do’s in the summer are an issue, particularly at the square, but we try to pre-empt potential problems through extra resourcing’ (Community police officer, Abanoch).

Ultimately, however, an uneasy tension exists in Abanoch between the business community who look to attract stag and hen parties and the rest of the community who see them as primarily troublemakers.

The rural locality that attracts stag and hen parties to Abanoch is partly driven by the way that the village is represented as a place of adventure, sport and the outdoors. This impacts on the everyday lives of those in Abanoch – both those who are directly involved with the tourist industry and rely on the money they bring to Abanoch and those living in there who claim that particular tourist groups, the stag and hen parties, impact on the village through the ASB that they cause. Crian does not have much of an apparent tourist trade, but there are similar ‘outsider’ issues caused by migrant workers. The next section is going to explore that in more detail.

7.10.2 The impact of migrant workers in Crian

In a similar way that tourism in Abanoch illustrates how the three constituent parts of Halfacree's (2006) model come together, the impact migrant workers have upon Crian also neatly illustrates the totality of rural space (Halfacree, 2006). As chapter three highlights, Crian has developed with a different historical and social background compared to Abanoch. Crian lies in a berry producing area, which attracts a large number of seasonal migrant workers to the town.

A large literature has developed around the impact of migration into and out of rural areas, with Mathews & Briggs (2009) examining the out-migration of young people

¹⁰ As a post-script, I was on a stag party in Abanoch in August 2014, attracted by the promise of outdoor activities and relatively accessible sports. Whilst the locals were not too hostile to us, the group did comment that they did not feel very welcome within the village pubs and there was a sense that we were being watched by the locals. Despite it being a busy Saturday night, the police were not in the village.

from rural areas and Jentsch et al's., (2007) work on migrant workers moving to rural parts of Scotland. As Jentsch et al., (2007) highlight, the rural locality has a key part to play in attracting migrant workers to certain parts of Scotland because Crian is a still a space of productivism where farming is an important part of the local economy.

In comparison to Abanoch, where formal representations are less dominated by the productivist vision (although there are farmers markets monthly, selling expensive jams, wines and chutneys), migrant workers reinforce the feeling that Crian is a working agricultural village. Migrant workers have become a large part of the rural Scottish economy, particularly in the fruit picking season (Jentsch et al., 2007). As Sibley (2006: 408) highlights, narratives of belonging and not-belonging are 'rooted in particular histories', there is a long history of people migrating to Crian for the summer season – traditionally from the west coast of Scotland, but now primarily from Eastern Europe.

These particular histories mean that many in the community know families who are from the Glasgow area, who have now settled in Crian or have grown up with the seasonal flow of migrant workers in coming to the village. Interestingly, despite many in the community being related to people whom originally moved over from the west coast, it is often those same families who are labelled as being anti-social:

Harriet: Well the two families I was talking about ...they have come from Glasgow and have come and settled up here. I don't know if they feel like they need to live up to a reputation, but it is historically renowned...the one family in particular are all heavy drinkers and heavy smokers, always hanging out windows screaming and shouting...

AW: Ah, like something embedded?

Harriet: Yes. They brought some of their urban outlooks – it is a different way of life here, and they expected it to be the same here but it isn't... it is now 2nd and 3rd generation. Harriet (30s, Crian)

Harriet illustrates a commonly held assumption that the families that cause the public and personal neighbourhood level harms in Crian are mostly descended from people who have migrated from the west coast. Two large families in particular cause a large amount of the ASB in Crian and those two families started going to Crian as

seasonal workers on the berry farms. The ASB that they commit affects the everyday lives of residents in parts of Crian, highlighting the interplay between the rural locality which attracted these families and the lives of the rural.

The seasonal Eastern European migrants are regarded overall as a positive attribute to the community of Crian. Attracted by the representation of Crian as an active berry producing community, combined with stories from friends and family that have done previous seasons in Crian and enjoyed living and working in the village, the migrants tend to live in a small number of properties in Crian or on the surrounding farms. Some of the locals in Crian appear to appreciate the work carried out by migrants:

'I have found them good – I haven't witnessed any ASB from any of the migrants personally. I have found them tremendous neighbours – I have three of them in the house at the back. They spend money in the village, I don't have anything bad to say about them at all. We were taking down a staircase the other day and all we heard was 'help, help' and I turned round to see who is needing help and it was the polish chap at the back asking if we needed any help. And he came down and picked the tools up and we have now discovered he was a roofer in Poland – working as a berry picker [!]. Ideal when you own a property with a big roof!' Glenda (40s, Crian)

There was a distinction made between migrants who *'fit in with the community and make an effort'* and the *'young ones who come across and just get pissed every night'* (Jeff, 20s, Crian). The cultural habits of the latter group were repeatedly highlighted by participants in Crian, with young migrant workers being accused of drinking spirits in the street and buying young people cigarettes, not because they were being anti-social per se, but because their normative assumptions lie in European laws where these things are ok. Education and integration therefore is a key part of both the way that the police and the community deal with the seasonal influx with migrants into Crian, with the local authority and the police running awareness campaigns for migrant workers. These tend to focus on English language skills and information about local laws (e.g. street drinking is illegal), but also focus on community expectations in order to reduce the risk of ASB.

Halfacree's (2006) model for understanding the totality of rural space is useful for understanding how migrant workers impact on the ASB experienced in Crian. The agricultural form of locality means that a specific form of rural is represented which attracts migrant workers into Crian. This has an impact on the everyday lives of

those living and working in the village and changes the dynamics of the community. Outsiders therefore play an important role in the way that ASB is enacted in both Crian and Abanoch.

7.11 Conclusion

This chapter has brought together a number of different ways of beginning to understand the impact that ASB has on the everyday lives of those living in rural Scotland. Using Innes & Weston (2010) and Innes (2004) work on signal crime perspectives and theory on harm, I have illustrated a different way of considering how ASB could be measured. By thinking of how ASB impacts in terms of the way that the individual thinks, feels and acts, harm (and therefore impact) can be considered in a more temporally and spatially situated way. In addition, Halfacree's (2006) conceptualisation of rural space helps to triangulate the everyday lives of those living in rural communities with some of the structural contexts in which ASB occurs. By bringing together these different theoretical stances to situate understandings of the impact of ASB in rural space, this chapter has sought to move beyond the definitions of ASB as a list of behaviours, to explore the ways that ASB impacts in a gendered and aged way.

It is important to stress the different situated contexts in which ASB occurs. Abanoch and Crian differ in a number of ways both structurally and in the way that the locale have developed. This means that there are clear differentiated nature and impacts of ASB in the respective communities. In turn, gender, age and to a lesser extent, class, influence the way that the impact of ASB is experienced by those living in each village. This is reflected in the different knowledges and ways of knowing reported in Abanoch and Crian. This, in turn, illustrates the importance of understanding and examining ASB in the situated, spatially and temporally bound contexts in which it occurs. This has implications for the way that communities and the police respond to ASB, as chapter eight and nine are going to explore.

8 Youth work and community responses to ASB

8.1 Introduction

Having discussed the nature of ASB in rural communities in chapter six and the differential way that ASB impacts on rural space in chapter seven, this chapter focuses on the ways that the community responds to ASB. Chapters six and seven answer the first two research questions on the nature and impact of ASB, whilst together with chapter nine, this chapter answers the third research question by analysing the responses to ASB. This chapter explores the relationship between youth work and community responses to ASB. It begins by exploring the formalised youth work response to ASB, before discussing the less formalised responses to ASB. Using the discourses developed in the community safety literatures examining social measures and mechanisms and situational preventative mechanisms, the role that community and local authorities play in responding to ASB will be analysed. The youth workers tend to use social prevention mechanisms as a way of responding to ASB – this is the focus of the first half of the chapter. The second part of the chapter explores the situational responses by community groups, focusing on the community change organisations. The role these groups play in preventing ASB will be examined, with the connection between active citizenship, forms of ASB that can be ‘designed out’ of communities and the role that community leaders play in being the ‘voice’ in the community being analysed. The chapter finishes by highlighting the problems with relying on specific community members to represent the community, noting the difference in community police interaction in Abanoch and Crian.

8.2 Social measures and mechanisms

As chapter two explored, ASB is fundamentally a social construction (Millie, 2009), while social policies, for instance, the allocation of social housing, can unintentionally create concentrations of anti-social families (see section 7.9). It is argued that controlling and responding to ASB, can also take the form of both formal and informal social controls on potential offenders, with varying levels of intensity through families, peer groups, schools, neighbourhoods and in public places (Tilley, 2009). Social measures and mechanisms are a key part of the Scottish Government’s P.I.E.R model introduced to tackle ASB, with Nixon et al., (2010) highlighting the shift towards family intervention projects and social measures designed to prevent

ASB at the root cause (Scottish Government, 2011b). Youth workers are a key part of this strategy and as the next sections of this chapter highlight, they form an important part of the local authority response to ASB. Diagrammatically there are a number of groups which make up the community change organisation in Abanoch and Crian, including youth groups. Table 8.1 below classifies the most prominent groups in Abanoch and Crian who are working to respond to ASB into those which primarily respond using social measures and mechanisms, those which respond using primarily situational measures and mechanisms and those groups in the community who have little or no role in responding to ASB.

Groups	Utilise social measures and mechanisms	Utilise situational measures and mechanisms	Groups which have little or no role in responding to ASB
Youth Groups	x		
Community Police Officers	x	x	
Local Authority Partnerships	x	x	
Neighbourhood Watches		x	
Pride of Place Groups		x	
Development Trusts		x	
Community Councils		x	
'Friends of' Groups		x	
Dog Wardens		x	
Town Hall Groups			x
Heritage Trusts			x
Hobby Groups			x
Single Issue Groups			x

Table 8.1: Classification of prominent groups in Abanoch and Crian

What this table shows is that youth groups have the most prominent role in responding to ASB using social measures and mechanisms. It could be argued that this is their sole purpose; they are there to support young people and forge relationships with those individuals that other groups have neither the time nor ability to be able to do. The first half of the chapter focuses on this. The second half focuses on those groups in the middle of Table 8.1 who respond to ASB in more of a situational fashion.

Youth workers and youth clubs have a central role to play in preventing ASB in communities, forming a vital part of the partnership strategy for tackling ASB and youth offending, particularly in relation to the ‘prevention’ and ‘integration’ strands of the P.I.E.R model (Scottish Government, 2009a, 2009b). As Moody (1999) notes, the countryside and rural locations are absent from much of the contemporary criminology literature, and this is particularly true in relation to ASB. Crime levels amongst young people in rural locations are comparatively low compared to urban locations (Meek, 2006), yet as Day et al., (2001) note, ASB tolerance in rural areas is often less. Youth workers and youth clubs provide useful diversionary activities and support networks in areas which are frequently deprived in terms of the support and services infrastructure. This section starts with an explanation of the youth setup in both Abanoch and Crian and then, with the help of some of the work developed in an urban context in relation to youth justice (McAra and McVie, 2010), the rural context in relation to responding to ASB will be explored.

8.2.1 Youth workers responding to ASB: The importance of agency

Both Crian and Abanoch have a similar structure in terms of youth provision although there are differences in the way the local youth provision is delivered and the relationships between the youth worker(s), the community and the local authority. Although the remit of the youth workers in Crian and Abanoch is broadly similar – they identify young people at risk, try to intervene early and provide a range of diversionary activities – the way the response is enacted at an individual level varies. It is important to begin by briefly setting out the way that youth provisions in Abanoch and Crian are structured, because this impacts on the way that the respective youth work set-ups respond to ASB within the community. Being part of the same local authority area means that the youth workers in Abanoch and Crian who are employed by the local authority have a similar youth work management

structure. With a strong partnership arena within the local authority, both communities have a mix of third sector and local authority run youth work provision, yet in Abanoch the youth workers are principally funded through third sector funding, while in Crian the main youth work provision is local authority funded, albeit through a charitable structure.

Although the local authority area is large (over 5000 square kilometres), the number of youth workers is small. A number of the youth workers have therefore worked between the two fieldwork sites. There is also a complex funding set up, where some youth workers are employed on full time contracts while others are contracted per project – for instance five hours a week to assist the full time youth worker two nights a week – while some of the third sector projects are partly funded by the local authority. In addition, in some cases older members of the youth groups are employed as part of training programmes to help young people get into work, whilst two of the youth workers in Abanoch were there as part of their Christian College youth ministries training. Additionally, there were people employed to give specialised input into the youth clubs. In Abanoch, a local ex-youth worker was employed to provide two hours of DJ-ing input per week, while in Crian a cooking course was delivered by a retired local chef. This thesis focuses on research carried out within two youth clubs, one in Abanoch and one in Crian and although other youth workers were present for periods of the research, most of the research was carried out with Fraser and Jacki in Abanoch and Graeme in Crian.

The main youth provision in Abanoch is provided through Fraser's church-based youth clubs. The project run by Jacki in Abanoch was in a period of transition at the time fieldwork, indicative of the tight funding situation. Relationally, Jacki and Fraser have a close working relationship, with Jacki's youth club providing pregnancy tests and sexual health advice, advice that Fraser, due to religious beliefs and the church location of his youth club, is less forthcoming in providing. The localised knowledge of the relationships in Abanoch allow both Jacki and Fraser to provide a contextualised response to the challenges of ASB in Abanoch (Hughes and Edwards, 2005), a response that the police value.

In contrast, the youth work setup in Crian is predominantly run by the local authority, albeit with a charitable trust in charge of the maintenance of the building

that the youth club uses. As a detached youth worker, Graeme has overall responsibility for the youth club in Crian and he has three other individuals who are employed on local authority contracts. These contracts are only five or ten hours and usually have a specific project attached to them – Stuart, for instance, describes himself as a ‘freelance youth worker’ and he was employed on a five hour per week contract to deliver an afterschool homework club in Crian. He was also employed in the neighbouring town in other youth work settings. The context means that this is the maximum funding available for the youth club in Crian. In addition, being bound by local authority health and safety rules limited the activities that Graeme could run in Crian:

‘It is a gorgeous night so we head inside and in the process of trying to decide what activities to undertake, I suggest that we go outside to make the most of the nice weather. However, in a rather depressing way Stuart tells me that in order to go and play football or something like that you are required to give 6 weeks’ notice to the council so that the health and safety forms can be filled in! This seems crazy ridiculous. How can you plan for a sunny day that far in advance?! ‘It is just the way it is unfortunately’ Stuart says obviously exasperated. So it is back to the drawing board – Graeme decides that we could make pizzas, so starts to make up the dough for the young people. This is contrast to Abanoch where there seems to be much more creative thought and less bounded by council health and safety deadlines.’ Field diary, Crian, 02/05/12

The delivery of the youth work services in Crian and Abanoch is therefore different based on the structural limitations imposed by the council. Despite the structural differences between Crian and Abanoch, the agency of the individual youth workers working within the broader structures affects the way that the youth workers in both locations respond to ASB. Graeme and Fraser showed quite different ways of trying to engage, respond to and intervene with young people in Crian and Abanoch respectively.

In Crian, Graeme focused a large degree of attention on individuals who have been identified both through official channels (i.e. multiagency meetings) as needing support or that he himself has identified as in need of need of extra support. This appeared to be slightly haphazard in its execution, with a few individuals taking up a large proportion of Graeme’s time. However, for those individuals, this support seems to work and Graeme is highly regarded by the guardians of the young people he has supported. In one case, he was supporting the children of a woman whose

eldest son is in jail and her three other children are renowned in Crian as troublemakers. She came to the youth club while I was there and explained:

'I dinnae ken what I would do without Graeme, he has helped oor family oot loads and ken, I couldni cope with it all on my own' Field diary, Crian, 24/07/12

This reflected Graeme's wider role within the local authority. Fraser, on the other hand, runs a youth club based on funding grants from a variety of sources and he is therefore less constrained in what he can do. Although he is involved in mentoring in a one to one way, his primary youth work role involves working with groups of young people. In an innovative situation, he also has input at the local high school, where he teaches classes in social education. He therefore appears to have a broader social and educational remit in Abanoch. Moreover, by living in Abanoch and having children who go to the local school, Fraser is rarely 'off duty' and I bumped into him numerous times when I was undertaking other fieldwork in the village, where he was usually having a conversation to one of the young people's parents in various locations about the village. The embedded nature of Fraser's life in Abanoch helped him to have a relationship with many of the young people in Abanoch. This relationality is key in responding to ASB (Leyshon, 2002), with a large amount of literature published about the impact that youth provision has on youth offending and ASB (Driskell et al., 2008; Meek, 2006; Stephen and Squires, 2004). Youth workers play an important role in creating diversionary activities, providing support and liaising with other partners to ensure that the most vulnerable young people and those most likely to commit ASB are supported in the community.

McAra and McVie's (2010: 180) analysis of youth transitions highlights four key facts that they argue ought to fit any system of youth justice:

- Persistent serious offending is associated with victimisation and social adversity;
- Critical moments in the early teenage years are key to pathways out of offending;
- Diversionary strategies facilitate the desistence process;
- Early identification of at-risk children is not a water-tight process.

Presenting a large number factors linking youth ASB, justice and the response mechanisms that can be utilised, McAra and McVie's (2010) paper provides

quantitative evidence to illuminate what they identify as the main facts about youth crime. The first three bullet points provide a useful starting point for exploring the youth provision and response in Abanoch and Crian. The final bullet point is not something that was explored in this study.

8.2.2 Identifying those most at risk of committing ASB

Evidence underpinning the risk-factor paradigm has led to a strong policy focus on the impact that early intervention can have. The risk-factor paradigm suggests ‘that services and support focused on those identified as at risk (in terms of early onset of conduct disorders, those subject to harsh and erratic parenting etc.) will have longer term payoffs in respect of later reductions in offending and other forms of anti-social behaviour’ (McAra and McVie, 2010: 184). The current Scottish National Party (SNP) strategy for preventing ASB relies on the uncritical application of this paradigm, something which, as McAra and McVie (2010) note, is problematic. Haines and Case (2008) question whether it is ever possible to predict with any certainty which children may or may not become offenders. In addition, it has been acknowledged that family intervention practices and other intensive interventions, whilst good in many cases, can create a damaging impact on young people in the long term and increase rather than decrease offending (Hodgkinson and Tilley, 2011; McAra and McVie, 2010; Parr and Nixon, 2008).

Despite this however, the Kilbrandon model of justice developed in Scotland since the 70s links ‘needs to deeds’. This is broadly supported by McAra and McVie (2010), who note that a range of risk taking behaviours, problematic behaviour associated with peers, state dependency and poor upbringing increase the risk of young people being associated with increasing levels of violence. The evidence presented by Henry and McAra (2012) is useful for examining the way that youth workers in Abanoch and Crian identify those most at risk of ASB. This was identified as a key part of their jobs as youth workers:

‘I see my role...well, like, I’ll try and see who needs additional support, you know help...I worked with three young people who were getting thrown out of school and I worked with them for a three years. But it probably took a year to a year and a half for them to really turnaround and then they sat their exams and got their work placements and it actually took that to happen before people actively started to seek out my help – and they would speak to me about advice and that. It took for there to be a success story before they trusted me. And it has just built from there. These would be

young people really at risk, not the rich ones...’ Jacki (Youth worker, Abanoch)

Identifying, then supporting, young people who are at risk of committing ASB is a key part of the job of a youth worker, with the hope that this will improve the outcomes of those who are most at risk of committing ASB. The quote above from Jacki also highlights a fundamental difference between the way that youth workers frame their response to ASB in rural Scotland and the way that the police respond to ASB in rural areas. The intensive, long term, in-depth work is apparent in the way that Jacki approaches her support of young people. She demonstrates a social response aimed at changing the outcomes of those at risk of committing ASB, along with the deep-rooted problems that often underpin ASB (Burney, 2009). As chapter nine notes, the community police officers in Abanoch and Crian respond to ASB using policing ontology, which, as Jacki highlights, is different from the response of youth workers. For example, on one occasion, I turned up to interview Graeme and it transpired that he was in the high school in a nearby town accompanying a regular truant to classes. Later when I catch up with him, he explains the situation:

‘Sorry I’m late man, a young lad’s dad asked me to meet with [the young person], he’s been going through all sorts of shit. I sat in with some of his classes up at the [high school]. Someone like that, the police already know him, so like...if he is wanting help, we’ll give him it.’ Field diary, Crian, 16/08/12

As this quote shows, young people considered at risk of ASB are not only identified through official social work, education, police or youth work channels, but also in informal ways by the families of those involved. This is something which came up a number of times in rural locations, where, due to the spatial scale, rural context and the nature of rural communities, those perceived as ‘at risk’ of being anti-social could be easily identified. The small spatial scale means that youth workers are well known in the community and are therefore often approached by parents ‘having problems with kids’, in an informal, off-the-record manner (Jacki, Youth worker, Abanoch).

Partnership working in rural locations is an important way that the prevention and intervention strands of the P.I.E.R model of tackling ASB are undertaken. The personal relationships between the individual community officer and the local youth workers are an important way of identifying young people at risk of both committing

ASB and being a victim of ASB. Often the behaviour reported to, or witnessed by, the community officer may be at the lower end of the harm scale – public harms such as underage drinking, graffiti or general nuisance. These are ‘risk factors’, which as Haines and Case (2008) notes, are often used by local authority agencies to identify young people who may be at risk of future problematic behaviour. Getting the youth worker involved at this early stage can therefore help create a more joined up and appropriate service delivery. This is something which has been examined by O’Neill and McCarthy (2014).

This is particularly important in the rural context, where other youth service provision is lacking and where distance can create a significant social barrier for young. In particular, rural communities appear to rely on the relationship between individual youth workers and the individual police officers in responding to ASB, a relationship which is not always as well developed as it could or should be. This could be symptomatic of bureaucratic tensions, such as fear of falling foul of the strict data protection rules enforced by the police, but it may also be due to the (lack of) relationship between the police and youth workers in particular locations. In Abanoch, there were clear tensions between the community officer and both the main youth workers in the village:

‘Well going back to the police thing, certainly in my area – it is always us trying to involve the police. The police don’t try and involve us. There is a real barrier there in terms of trying to get the police involved with things. We try to get the police to come along to things, to build relationships up with the young people and they sometimes don’t see a value in that...’ Ally (Youth Worker, Abanoch)

Here Ally talks about the importance of building a strong relationship with the local police officer in order to enhance the flow of information and trust between the two professions. Graeme echoes these views:

‘You know, when they move on, these relationships aren’t always replicated and agendas are often very different. I think sometimes they could see us, some officers see us as babysitting and faffing about. You know ‘get the wee shite into jail, into borstal’ you know, we are dealing with a lot of the issues that are going on at home...’ Graeme (Youth worker, Crian)

Graeme makes the important point that there are different professional cultures at work, with some officers not understanding the role that youth workers play in identifying young people and supporting them in an intense and holistic way. This

was a point reiterated by the community officer in Abanoch:

I ask the [name of officer] about his relationship with the youth workers in Abanoch and his answer surprises me. He says 'I'm not going to lie, I find it hard to work with youth workers, they always look tatty and have piercings and stuff that is alien to me...I mean, I understand they need to connect with young people in a different way to us, but it is hard when they turn up late to meetings and think we are being too formal, but that's how we are trained'...this provides me with some understanding of the context in Abanoch and perhaps explains why [name of officer] hasn't come to the youth club. Field diary, Abanoch, 13/10/11

The professional and cultural differences that exist between these two individuals are therefore an important barrier to informal partnership working, and the rural context amplifies this, because there is only one community officer and a couple of youth workers in Abanoch and Crian. Interestingly, rather than a cultural barrier in Crian, it is the fact that the community police officer is part-time which creates the barrier to informal information exchange between the youth workers and the police. This structural, bureaucratic tension means that the community officer assigned to Crian is never working in the evening when the youth clubs are on and therefore cannot informally drop-in and have a conversation with the youth worker. Both the youth worker and the community police officer identified this as a problem:

'... [The community officer] is a nice guy, but the problem is he doesn't work when we do and so can't come and meet the young people and hang out...' Graeme (Youth Worker, Crian)

'[Police Officer] It is a bit of an issue that I don't work evenings, because I can't build as much of a relationship with the young people as I would like' Field diary, Crian, 27/02/12

Having an important role in identifying those most at risk of ASB, youth workers are trained to respond in a holistic and intensive manner (Villarruel et al., 2003). As youth workers have become increasingly professionalised and their roles have become more formalised, differences have emerged in the way that they respond to ASB compared to other professionals in response roles such as the police and the anti-social investigations team (Thomas, 2011). The identification of young people at risk from committing and being a victim of ASB forms the initial stage of the youth work response to ASB, with diversionary strategies being an important part of actively working to try to reduce the ASB in Abanoch and Crian.

8.2.3 Diversionary strategies

Identifying those at risk from ASB is only one part of the role of the youth worker. As the Scottish Government (2011b: 16) highlights, a key objective is ‘to encourage practitioners to develop and disseminate a good database which allows information on successful local interventions to tackle ASB to be gathered and made easily accessible for practitioners’. Part of this involves developing diversionary strategies ‘which support practitioner’s efforts to get young people engaged’ (Scottish Government, 2011b: 16) and it is these diversionary strategies which are at the forefront of the work carried out by youth workers in Crian and Abanoch.

As McAra and McVie (2010: 182) highlight, there is a third phase of crime and justice policy emerging in Scotland under the SNP administration, with ‘an uneasy mixture of welfarist, actuarialist and retributive impulses.’ At the same time as promoting welfare and the child-centric well-being, the SNP ASB policy also spells out ‘the need to develop targeted programmes and services for at-risk children and their families, favouring early but intensive intervention for the most risky of these’ (McAra and McVie, 2010: 182). There is a tension between creating and developing diversionary projects which are targeted at those most at risk of committing ASB, usually as a response to community needs, and developing diversionary projects to satisfy funding conditions:

‘Basically we are self-sufficient – I personally bring in all the funding for the project – it isn’t a massive project, it is only 50 odd grand a year, but that is still is 50 odd grand every year that we need to find. We don’t get any dedicated funding from the local authority although we get money from a local action fund and some other things. We got 1k there to run our summer activity programme...we sort of tailor projects to suit what funding... the church itself puts in 5k a year and then I bring in the rest – so we apply to the trusts’ Fraser (Youth worker, Abanoch)

In this quote Fraser highlights the role that funding plays in the decisions being made about what projects to run. In the third sector, funding becomes a key consideration and there are frequently conditions applied to the way that diversionary activities are set up and what they can target:

‘I have got some money to do some work on teenage pregnancy here [in Abanoch]...like to attract funding for certain projects it is important to mention ‘anti-social behaviour’ or ‘teenage pregnancy’ because you know they are local priorities...’ Jacki (Youth worker, Abanoch)

Third sector employed youth workers responding to ASB therefore need to be clever about the way that they attract funding, with Boyd (2011) highlighting the difficulties in adhering to the conditions attached to funding:

‘They also included the requirement to work at specific times, with specific agencies (such as the police), in specific locations where anti-social behaviour was known to be occurring. They introduced the requirement to work with specified young people e.g. the fifty young people most involved, or at risk of involvement in, youth offending or anti-social behaviour in a particular area...underlying the marketization of provision for young people’ (Boyd, 2011: 9)

Funding forms an important part of the decision making process in relation to what forms of diversionary projects can be run. However, more fundamentally, diversionary activities form a key part of the role of a youth worker, and a key part of the youth work response to ASB. A variety of participants in this study highlighted the diversionary activities as an important part of the response to ASB in Abanoch and Crian:

‘We try to provide some sort of activities in the evening, support, you know...erm...the kind of thing that means young folk can come and be occupied for a while...that way they don’t get into trouble...it’s about their safety too...’ Field diary (Crian, 14/03/12)

Young people also recognised the importance of youth clubs for giving them something to do in the evening and keep them out of trouble:

AW: What role do you think that Fraser's youth club has in preventing ASB?

Hayley: I think it is really good. They are such idiots [in Abanoch]. They are so bored over here I think...

Sarah: Yeh. I mean there is stuff for us to do – like we do stuff in the church and Jacki does the [name of project] but for older people there is nothing to do other than go out and drink. That is pretty much it.

Allan: We had a really good turnout [at a disco organised by the youth group] two months ago, we had 40 odd people.

Sarah: I think the younger people – I think they have a lot of fun at these things...

AW: So you guys see yourselves as part of the solution to ASB in some ways?

Cammy: I would like to think so. If you enjoy it does give you something to do, if you are into that sort of thing. Like I have learned to DJ through it and that means I've stayed out of trouble for the past 18 months.

[Focus Group, Abanoch, 15-17]

This group of young people value the importance of diversionary activities so much that they were in the process of organising a series of other diversionary activities for other younger members of the youth group and wider Abanoch community. Providing diversionary activities are only a small part of the overall plan for youth workers to respond to ASB; youth workers use the opportunity to encourage young people to take on additional responsibility within the youth club and enhance the skills that will make them employable in the future. Although the police note the importance of diversionary projects in helping prevent ASB, the youth workers have the time to do this much more effectively. The police commander for Abanoch and Crian repeatedly talked about the importance of diversionary tactics in preventing ASB:

'I guess the issue for me is that for me the police don't solve ASB – the thing that solves ASB is diversionary activities that stops people from behaving in an anti-social way in the first place. It is about nurture – how they are brought up, how they are educated and how they fill their days.' Police Chief Superintendent, Abanoch and Crian

As chapter nine highlights, the police force are partnership orientated and a key part of that relates to the ways that they can enable and facilitate youth workers

instigating diversionary activities. In Crian, a neighbouring town hosts a Friday evening youth diversionary activity which a hundred and fifty young people regularly attend from surrounding towns and villages. The community officer for the nearby town often attends, and I accompanied her:

'We arrive at the hall and [the Community Officer] is immediately greeted like an old pal, with young people coming up and trying to take her hat. I recognise a few from Crian, but a lot think I am also a cop and are wary of me. The officer starts playing badminton [...] later we chat about the project and she says 'I think it's great, the reason I go along when I can is I don't want to be a stranger to young people, I want them to know who I am. It also provides me with an informal way of working out who is hanging out with who, I guess a kind of intelligence...' Field diary, Crian, 15/02/13

The motivations for the police supporting and attending the diversionary projects are therefore different to that of the youth workers. Whilst this kind of work is a core part of the job role of a youth worker, attending these diversionary events regularly as a police officer is often difficult due to the perception that they have other, more pressing types of police work, abstractions and meetings. This type of youth engagement has, however, been prioritised by the community officer in Crian. It is also interesting to note the accessibly rural context of Crian plays a part here, with the young people from Crian able to attend this event relatively easily (the organisers lay on a bus). In Abanoch, the lack of proximity to larger settlements makes it more difficult for the young people to attend any of these kinds of large scale, diversionary activities. The degree of rurality therefore makes a difference for what opportunities are available for the young people. Given that Crian is the more deprived of the two locations, the local authority have invested heavily over the past decade to increase the number of diversionary projects available to the young. This ironically means that the young in Abanoch are now even more deprived in terms of local authority funded youth services than those in Crian.

Diversionary projects are a key part of the youth work and council response to ASB. Although funding can be problematic, working in partnership with local authority, the police and other agencies helps create diversionary projects which go beyond situational crime prevention and tackle some of the social measures. Diversionary projects also allow youth workers to identify young people at risk in their early teenage years, something which McAra and McVie (2010) identify as an important way to prevent ASB.

8.2.4 Critical moments in the early teenage years

Through the provision of diversionary activities and by successfully identifying the young people most at risk from ASB, youth workers can, they believe, change behaviour by a few degrees and successfully improve the outcomes of those most likely to be caught up in ASB. The early to mid-teenage years are identified as ‘critical moments’ in tackling ASB and putting the support mechanisms in place to respond to ASB (McAra and McVie, 2010: 201).

The youth workers have two roles to play in responding to ASB at this point in a young person’s life: identifying those at risk from committing ASB, and, by planning diversionary activities and implementing social measures and mechanism, supporting that young person. This has the aim of reducing the likelihood of young people committing ASB and, for those who have already entered the youth justice system, intervening to help with the desistance processes (McAra and McVie, 2010). The former points have already been explored in this chapter, so this section is going to explore the latter.

McNeill (2006) argues that a desistance paradigm is a useful way of focusing on the ways that an anti-social young person can construct a non-offender identity. A key part of helping a young person navigate out of offending behaviour involves the designation of a key worker – usually a youth worker – who supports the young person to identify and support them in their rehabilitation. Importantly, McNeill (2006: 55) notes that the relationships between the young person and the youth worker needs to be ‘based on legitimate and respectful relationships; they need to focus on social capital (opportunities) as well as human capital (motivations and capacities); and they need to exploit strengths as well as addressing needs and risks’. As the youth workers in Crian and Abanoch identified, the early teenage years are key in supporting young people:

‘We do our stats and every year for the past four years we have had 150 or 160 kids engage in the activities we do. Out of that there is a dozen at the most that are young people who come from church families. The rest are young people from all over the community. 10% of young people who access the opportunities that we deliver are from church background [...] but the majority of our young people would be hanging about the streets on a Thursday, Friday for sure [...] Kris and all that lot over the summer...all they do is get into silly bits of trouble if they have nothing else to do...that is

key, diverting them and keeping them busy [...] catching them at the moment before they get into serious trouble... Fraser (Youth Worker, Abanoch)

There is a feeling that if you manage to identify young people as young teenagers when they are committing relatively minor forms of ASB, then through encouragement, support and responsibility, the young people can be encouraged from committing more serious forms of crime. Kris, aged 13 and from Abanoch, is one individual who highlights these themes neatly. Kris is known to the police and involved in low-level ASB. Primarily this has been behaviour which is described in Figure 2.1 as that which may be a precursor to further offending; Kris has smashed the windows of the local town hall and set fire to a wheelie bin. There has therefore been a concerted effort to get him involved in the youth club organisation in Abanoch. Fraser and Jacki meet to discuss Kris regularly and they have been providing different forms of support in different ways – Fraser providing more of a formalised input which saw Kris become one of the committee at the youth club and Jacki in more of an informal way. By providing this intense support network in the village, there is a hope that Kris would not progress onto more serious forms of ASB and crime. The remote rural context once again illustrates the situated impact of ASB in rural communities. Kris was well known in the village and often used to exemplify the ASB in Abanoch. One participant I interviewed noted:

'Kris made my life hell in the park. He spat on tourists from a high distance, so I took him by the ear and walked him home and said to his mother 'if you can't control him from outside, you should keep him inside because this isn't on' and she was furious for months. Fucking furious – 'my Kris wouldn't do that'...thing is, he is salvageable [...] but the next 3 years are crucial, he desperately needs direction. He's just at that age...he could really be something and that's where the youth clubs come into it...' Zara (40s, Abanoch)

This is interesting because it highlights the central role that youth workers have in helping to reduce Kris's offending behaviour. It also illustrates the informal social control networks that exist in Abanoch, whereby Zara felt able to take Kris back to his mother and explain the situation to her. The rural context means that Kris and his family are well known in the community. The idyllic representation of Abanoch means that low level ASB, such as that highlighted by Zara, tends to be more obvious than in the community of Crian.

However, evidence from field suggests that it can be ‘hit and miss’ whether ‘the right young people’ engage with youth workers in a non-formalised manner. As the youth worker in Abanoch notes:

‘I think we are pretty good at getting those most at risk through the door, you know, Fraser has done really well to get kids who wouldn’t normally go to a church to attend his youth group. Still though, there are groups I would like to engage with, there is one group of S3 boys at the moment especially, but you can’t force it...’ Jacki (Youth worker, Abanoch)

The response of youth clubs to the multifaceted challenges of ASB becomes spatially and socially uneven. There are situations where those engaging with youth workers and youth clubs in an informal but regular way are not those who require the greatest intervention. In reality in Abanoch and Crian, however, all the youth clubs and youth workers seemed to be aware of this risk and actively sought to engage with the most problematic young people in both locations. In my experience in both places, this was successful, with a large crossover between the young people that the police considered anti-social and those attending the youth clubs on a regular basis. The informal, relational attributes involved with living and working in a small rural community clearly help the youth workers identify those most apparently in need of their input. However the agency of youth workers is important for understanding and engaging with these young people, the community police officers simply do not have the time or resources (or, arguably, the remit), to engage with young people the way that youth workers can. Youth workers, however, only form one part of the community response to ASB in Abanoch and Crian. A variety of community groups in both villages also help in small ways to reduce ASB, albeit in a more situational capacity.

8.3 Community response to ASB: Situational measures and mechanisms and active citizenship

In contrast to the youth work responses to ASB, which tend to be social measures and mechanisms aimed at tackling underlying social structure, the response of community groups to ASB tends to be more situational in character (see Table 8.1) (Tilley, 2009). Situational crime prevention focuses on modifying the conditions and environment in which the ASB is committed (Tilley, 2009). It seeks to remove and reduce opportunities for ASB to be committed by ‘management, design or manipulation of the environment and by making ASB more difficult and less

rewarding' (Clarke, 1997: 4; Tilley, 2009). Active citizenship is the basis of many of the community groups and is related to the broader restructuring that has provided a consumer-citizen focus in parts of rural Scotland, emphasising the citizen's right to choose, there has also been increasing evidence of the renewed responsibilities of citizens (Woods, 2006). Active citizenship perceives citizenship as something which is not passively received from the state, but 'as something that must be actively performed by individuals through participation in governance and sharing responsibility for the defence of citizenship rights' (Woods, 2006: 461).

Active citizenship and the responsabilization of individuals within the community (Garland, 2001), is enacted by diffusing partnership working and crime prevention and community safety to local authority level (Burney, 2009). As Woods (2006) notes, the debates around active citizenship in the rural have arguably been more complex than in urban settings, because citizen identity and representation follow from visions of 'rurality' (Halfacree, 2006). This has already been explored in relation to the impact of ASB in 7.2 and 7.3. In addition, rural patterns of community organisation and political participation have differed from that in urban sphere with paternalism and church-centred community leadership taking precedence in remote rural locations (Woods, 2006). Citizenship in the broadest sense, is the reciprocal relationship between the individual and the state and is 'performed through the rights and responsibilities within specific communities' (Woods, 2006: 465). Although citizenship is ascribed at this broad level, the everyday practice of citizenship tends to be geographically bound to local situations and, as Woods (2006) describes in the context of citizenship, in rural spaces communities are commonly geographically defined.

The rural locality and rural representations, as described by Halfacree (2006), relate to the way that the rural locale is inscribed with meaning by broader processes. As chapter seven describes, Abanoch and Crian have different spatial contexts and the impact of ASB subsequently varies between the communities, as does the response of the community groups to ASB. In addition to the impact of ASB varying between the case study locations, the ways in which active citizenship was practiced within both communities also varied. This is linked to the rural representations and the expectations of those living within Abanoch and Crian. The evidence presented by Edwards et al., (1999) highlights the common problems of persuading residents to

participate in leadership roles within rural communities and, in many cases, hard to reach groups need encouragement and training before considering taking up active roles in the community. This was clear in both Abanoch and Crian, where there was a general feeling that community groups generally featured the same people that always get involved:

'It is the same faces on all the community groups around here...the problem with that is here is people don't want to do it. That is why there is an elite group up here that sit on all the councils – community council and community groups...' Jacki (40s, Abanoch)

'We dinnae fit in any place – we are our ane group and that's it. We put out for volunteers for coming to help us and we have not had one volunteer...well once had someone help us pick litter but that's it. You put in the paper 'we are having this' and they [...] well it is the same faces...' Jean (50s, Crian)

'It does tend to be the same people that are involved in the same things and if you aren't involved then you tend not to be. I am not involved but I know there is lots of politics between each group. And that puts people off.' Harriet (30s, Crian)

There was a strong feeling in both communities that there was a group of individuals who were heavily involved in the groups within the town and constituted 'the active citizens' in the way that Woods (2006) critiques. This democratic deficit is explored in 8.3.2. Yet, community change organisations in both places are identified by participants as being positive for tackling ASB. There are groups in both communities which have been set up in order to try to make a positive change in Abanoch and Crian and fill a (perceived) gap in local authority and police service delivery. These groups commonly are made up of active citizens in a community.

8.3.1 Community change organisations

The term 'community change organisation' was coined by a resident I interviewed. Struggling to differentiate between groups which exist to improve the community and other hobby groups, the participant describes community change groups as those which promote active citizenship within the community and actively seek to change the community in a positive manner. As the local authority employed Community Capacity Builder noted:

'I think that erm [...] different communities show up different sorts of issues. Carole at the Regeneration Trust here – she talks about 'community change groups' – that you have different groups. You have the Beavers or Guides,

they are not what you call community change groups – they are in a community type of provision. You will have an exercise group – they are not trying to change the town. They are a community-based group which offers provision – health and activity. You then have other groups like Forward Crian which are trying to change the town. They want to make specific changes, and I suppose that one of the things you hope to do is to try and smooth some of those things’ Jim (Community Capacity Builder, Crian)

Both Abanoch and Crian have a number of these community change organisations serving the interests of different aspects of each village, examples of which are given in Table 8.1. In Crian, there were six identifiable community change organisations. In Abanoch, however, the landscape around community change organisations is more complex, with the community change groups being supplemented by a mosaic of other organisations, usually campaigning on a single issue. For instance, in Abanoch there is a community group that had the sole aim of buying the village hall. After protracted local authority negotiations, this has now been granted. The park in Abanoch also has a ‘friends of’ group associated with it and there is another group which has successfully raised the £1.7 million needed to re-open an old cinema. These are all groups which are, by definition, community change organisations, yet have a single issue remit and responding to ASB is not part of their core business.

The community change organisations that do exist in order to tackle ASB in both Crian and Abanoch, represent an engagement with the established structures and institutions of rural government, with the community council in both locations pursuing actively the local interests (Woods, 2006: 467). In many cases, this represents the decision made by local people in both villages to participate in groups which tackle issues which are pertinent to them. This is what Woods (2006) terms a ‘civil society group’:

‘I’m part of this group [Abanoch association of small businesses] to improve my business contacts and make connections to other business owners in the town. It’s useful, we can be united and campaign more effectively as a group...’ Kate (30s, Abanoch)

ASB is not a core focus of any of the community change groups in either location; rather responding to ASB forms more of a part for some of the groups than others. As Table 8.1 highlights, groups such as the Pride Abanoch specifically aim to improve the environment of the village with the explicit intention of ‘*helping to keep public spaces and premises neat and tidy and encourage youth participation*’ (Pride

Abanoch Focus Group). These groups therefore, whilst not providing a direct response to ASB, do provide an outlet whereby community leaders can monitor and, in many instances, regulate what behaviours are considered acceptable to them or not (Neal and Walters, 2007). This relies on specific representations of the rural being projected, something which was reflected more in Abanoch, where groups sought to protect visions of the rural idyll. Although this can be problematic, many of those living in and moving to Abanoch still subscribe to notions of the rural idyll. As John Urry notes, ‘the attractions of the countryside derive in part from the disillusionment with elements of the modern, particularly with the attempt to effect wholesale reconstruction of towns and cities in the post-war period’ (Urry, 2002: 88). As Neal and Walters (2007) explore, the rural community is an interesting juxtaposition between being a site of regulation (‘panopticism’) while at the same time being a site of freedom and non-regulation (‘heterotopia’).

Pride Abanoch and Forward Crian are the two community change organisations in Abanoch and Crian respectively which seek to respond to ASB most clearly. They form a situational response, whereby the groups seek to make committing ASB more challenging. Pride Abanoch, in particular, talked a lot about the natural surveillance and the ways that they can assist compliance and discourage ASB (Focus Group, Abanoch Pride of Place). As Tilley (2009: 118) notes, these ‘techniques of situational prevention’ have been critiqued for displacing crime and ASB, however ‘diffusion of benefit have been widely found’ through the introduction of situational measures. The community change groups generally, but specifically Pride Abanoch and Forward Crian, provide, to a degree, the regulation and form the ‘panoptic gaze’ in the case study locations. These groups routinely talked about watching out for behaviour that would not be considered the norm for the village:

Issy: I suppose we notice it because...

Bill: Because we are a group that are trying to improve the town...we came out of Abanoch in bloom when it kind of slipped away. There was a big meeting at the village hall – we wanted to move on from the Bloom. We keep an eye on the place, you know. Enhance it...we do statues and stuff too. We do all the flowers in the town.

Diane: Yes, people love it in the summer.

Mags: A lot of people still don't know who we are...but we are working on it and helping the place feel nicer, you know...

[Focus Group, Pride Abanoch]

This focus group excerpt highlights the fact that beyond the basic function of improving the aesthetics of Abanoch, Pride Abanoch argues that they also have a second role keeping an eye on the village. This echoes Neal and Walters (2007) work, which argues that there has been a slippage between the panoptic gaze and traditional forms of community. Good citizens, it is argued, are the 'ones who watch out for suspicious persons and strangers and who in that very act, becomes aligned with, not only the police (and hence the law) but with the very imagined community itself whose boundaries are protected in the very labour of his look' (Ahmed, 2000, cited in Neal and Walters, 2007: 255). More often than not, the mobilisation and leadership amongst these active citizens within the community is linked to specific rural representations that these individuals have a vested interest in maintaining.

In Crian, the community context is different. The main community change group responding to ASB is Forward Crian. In contrast to the motivations of those involved with Pride Abanoch, in Crian this group acknowledges that the tourist trade is minimal and therefore seeks to improve the fabric of the village for those living there. They do this through, for example, a campaign for improved tourist signage and signs in the village which state that it is illegal to drink in public places in Crian. Forward Crian are overall trying to improve Crian by changing the village in a more fundamental, physical way, creating more green space, opening a community café, lobbying for a by-pass and doing up derelict buildings. Deriving a large amount of ideology from the Broken Windows thesis (Wilson and Kelling, 1982), Forward Crian see it as their job to respond to the threat of ASB by improving the situational and social environment around the village:

Darryl: Whether regeneration is more important...I think because we are a development trust, we are interested in dilapidated buildings and the consequences of that and whose responsibility they are. And how might a development trust work with authorities to rectify this.

Stu: And that was in a small town. There seemed to be a big number of people concerned. But then others were saying it is needed for economic revival. And having a vandalised empty building is almost ASB in itself.

Darryl: I think there is a role for us to prevent ASB – but in a very indirect way. I don't personally see anything that says we are trying to improve ASB. But if we are serious about gaining community support about some of these projects...you know it is about improving the feel of the place too, like through the community café, it is social place...

Janet: Yes, we need to be more than that...

[Focus Group, Forward Crian]

This excerpt highlights some of the confusion around the exact role of Forward Crian in relation to responding to ASB. Instead, they discuss situational and, to an extent, social ways that they can influence the broader environment in Crian and the ways that this might impact on ASB.

Thus, the respective representations and contexts in Abanoch and Crian means that there are important differences in the situational measures the respective community change groups consider as important. These groups in Abanoch are about challenging behaviour, planning decisions, local authority moves and policing. These are the domains which the members of these groups (mostly 'incomers') feel are most likely to challenge their idyllic vision of the village. In contrast, in Crian, there is no illusion that there is little tourist trade, thus the focus of the groups is more about improving and challenging some of the socio-economic problems pertinent in the village. Their focus is therefore more about trying to improve the situational *and* the social aspects of the town and counter what Gilling (2011) terms the deprived rural.

Both villages have problems with engaging members of the broader community. This is a challenge that all community groups and those engaging with community change organisations face, where those involved tend to be the ones with most time and who are able to shout the loudest.

8.3.2 Democratic deficit: Representation and the challenge of community

As Woods (2006: 467) notes, ‘concepts such as active citizenship are full of democratic promise, implying a redistribution of power back from the state to the people’. However, the extent of involvement at an active citizenship level within the community is challenged (see Herbert, 2006). Those participating in the community change groups in both Crian and Abanoch consist largely of a set of regulars who are demographically notable in that they are white, retired, property owners who are predominantly incomers to the community. In addition, the majority of those on the community change groups have had powerful careers and subsequently have powerful networks of individuals to draw upon. As Herbert (2006) highlights, community participation in local governance needs critical and considered attention, particularly when community groups can pejoratively make a take decisions which may impact on the rest of the community in relation to ASB.

In Abanoch, in particular, this was a point expressed by a number of participants. Harry, a local business owner highlights the fact that the incomers who make up the majority of the community change organisations can tap into networks and have a greater ability to exercise their social capital in rural settings – see section 6.3 (Deller and Deller, 2010). The active citizens in Abanoch, in line with what Marinetto (2003) describes, have the skills and personal resources – communication and organisational skills – that mark out potential community leaders. In addition, however, these individuals in Abanoch also tend to have a vested interest in the way that decisions are made about the community, with many retiring to the community and trying to maintain notions of the rural idyll. Participants on these groups also tend to argue that they are the ‘only ones that are willing to stick their heads above the pulpit’:

‘People always complain about us, I mean, whinge...and I think well ‘get off your ass and do something if you are that bothered’, but they don’t. I think you have a small group of people who are do-ers and then you have others who are takers...err....and then you have others who just want to live their lives and not do anything. They know who they are. Erm, you can’t really do much about that.’ Lesley (30s, Abanoch)

There is a tension between, those in Abanoch who believe that the community change organisations do not represent the views of the community and those on the community change groups, who argue that if they did not take an active role within

Abanoch, no one else would, which would be to the detriment of the whole village.

This was clear in Crian, where there were clear divides between the various community change organisations. Pride Crian, in particular, are made up of a mix of locals and incomers and were generally seen as a group which worked hard to improve the physical environment around the village and do not try to change the social fabric of the village. Forward Crian, on the other hand, were widely criticised in participant interviews for not understanding the context of Crian and not getting (or attempting to get) local people onside or involved:

'Forward Crian is a bad word to me. No, it is...they have this café – to me it is very unfair on the Bakery who pay rent and rates and everything else to sell their wares in the centre of town. They have the biggest shop in a prime spot and are now getting their custom stolen by a community group...' Bert (50s, Crian)

'They have never done nothing. They stay in big houses up here and they have never done anything or said anything good, ken they are all incomers wie no idea...' Jean (50s, Crian)

Forward Crian's memberships are particularly active in Crian. They are made up almost exclusively of people who have previously held senior positions – a dentist, a head teacher, and a chemical engineer – and have some radical plans about ways to improve the social and physical fabric of Crian. Some of their community plans would impact detrimentally on other members of the community (they are currently campaigning to take over the running of the town hall despite the fact that this would mean a local resident would lose their job and home), whilst the community café they have opened has been criticised for taking business away from existing businesses. Yet members of this group argue very convincingly that by opening a community café, they have provided a space that young and old people can come very cheaply for lunch and they have young people helping to serve food in the school holidays. I volunteered in the café (in return for a focus group with Forward Crian) and as such, I spent a lot of time in the café:

There are also the regular Crian oldies who meet a lot of days and so in some ways it [the community café] is a bit like a day centre. So all in all it is a strange mix of people. David also turns up and wants to bake – this shocks me because he is one of the “wee shites” – not my term - and it really surprises me that a lad his age would want to bake. But apparently he is in most days. Mark has linked with David, who listens to him intensely. It is interesting to watch, although I wonder if the café is suffering as a result of

his interest in helping David bake. I offer to help. It turns out the café has no vanilla essence. So David heads up home to see if there is any there. When he returns he has a newly purchased bottle of vanilla essence – it turns out there wasn't any at home and he purchased some out of his own pocket money! This is remarkable in my eyes – this “wee shite” of a kid wants to make fairy cakes that much he has purchased vanilla essence out of his pocket money. I get assigned the task of helping him bake and it must be said that this isn't something I am overly familiar with! I follow the recipe pretty religiously and yet I get a bit lost with the eggs bit – apparently in David's eagerness to get cooking, he put it in too quickly and it started to separate. One of the old wifies in the café gets into a bit of a panic and comes rushing over saying “the eggs have split, oh no eggs have separated”[...] I start to giggle uncontrollably, not in a rude way, just at the drama of the situation... Field diary, Crian, 01/08/12

The community café in this instance therefore seems to be providing a location for different groups in the community to mix; and since Burney (2009) and Millie (2009) and others have argued that anti-social behaviour reflects inter-generational tensions it could be argued that this community café is a key response mechanism in the community of Crian. The mixing of ages means that David is recognised by the older generations coming to the café (see section 7.8) and thus he is seen as less of a threat by the older generations.

Despite the advantages that community change organisations can bring to a community in terms of responding to ASB, experience in Crian and Abanoch suggests that it is a mixed and fragmented picture. Although Woods (2006: 468) notes that ‘where ‘leaders’ are self-declared, questions might be asked about how they subsequently establish their authority to lead within the community’, experience in Abanoch and Crian suggest that the self-selecting individuals who are inclined to lead the community change groups, tend to establish authority through elite networks of likeminded individuals, thus reinforcing this bias. These elite networks are used frequently to recruit new community leaders, leaving question marks over whether these individuals are ‘accountable to the communities they purport to represent or act on behalf of’ (Woods, 2006: 468). Yet, as examples drawn from Abanoch and Crian also highlight, these groups frequently enhance aspects of the locale, both the physical environment and in the case of Crian, the social fabric of the village by opening a community café. Yet the situated context is key, where thought is given to the wider community, the other businesses and the ways that these groups can be most effective within their respective localities. The final section of this chapter is

going to explore the structural, local authority response to ASB. This once again highlights some important differences between Crian and Abanoch, linked to the context of the villages, rurality and other broader socio-economic decisions.

8.4 The role of the local authority

Having examined the community-level responses to ASB, this section explores the role of the more formalised Anti-social Investigations Team (ASIT), which sits within the Safer Communities Team (SCT). These two teams are located in the city that forms the civic centre of the local authority, fifty-minutes from Abanoch and twenty-five minutes from Crian and principally these teams make up the formalised response of the local authority to ASB. They work closely with mediation services, social work and other partner agencies to intervene and support offenders prior to instigating a formalised, enforcement responses (e.g. ASBOs).

The primary remit of the ASIT is to respond to noise complaints and investigate ‘serious and protracted cases of ASB’, whilst the SCT deal with the preventative side of the response. The noise response teams are responsible for responding to calls in the local authority area, measuring it and issuing a warning followed by a £100 fixed penalty notice if the noise is still above a permitted level:

‘If it is still over the level then they get a £100 fine which is served in the presence of the police because there is a personal safety issue to consider – nobody likes to get a £100 fine. In terms of ASB, ASB can be committed across all tenures – private, council, housing association – whatever. Generally, if an ASB complaint comes in, what we would look to do is a kind of two-tiered approach. On the one hand, you can be going into that and dealing with that with an end result being an enforcement type scenario of say an ASBO. Within all that process, there is also a very strong element of putting in levels of support for both the victim and the alleged offender because the alleged offender might have been identified as having parental concerns for instance which attending an parental course may assist – victim support for the complainer, tenancy support for the offender, mediation...’ Jock (ASIT, Abanoch and Crian)

ASIT therefore tends to be the enforcing response of the local authority, whilst the youth work and youth justice team (who sit within the SCT) tend to offer the prevention and intervention parts of the P.I.E.R model (Scottish Government, 2011). ASIT’s response tends to be a situational and enforcing response, which ultimately seeks to decrease the risks of committing noise nuisance, remove excuses and reduce provocations related to being anti-social (Tilley, 2009). However, providing a

responsive service is problematic when the call comes from a remote rural location such as Abanoch. Indeed, there are very few enforcement led measures taken against ASB in Abanoch and Crian, with no ASBOs or acceptable behaviour contracts given in these areas in 2012/13, according to local police data. Providing a responsive service from the main urban centre in the local authority area makes sense in terms of service provision, but means that they are rarely called out to Abanoch and Crian and, when they are, it can take up to an hour to reach the complainants address:

'A person in town will expect a response within 15 minutes, but a person in Abanoch might be lucky if there is someone in the area to get a quick response, but on average they will get a response in an hour or so because it takes that amount of time to travel from here to there – or even longer if the team happen to be further south' Malcolm (ASIT, Abanoch and Crian)

The temporality of ASB means that in Abanoch, the remote rural means that the noise nuisance has often stopped by the time the ASIT team would be able to reach Abanoch:

'There isn't too much noise about here, but that means when there is a party you know about it, everyone does.'

[AW asks about ASIT]

I've never heard of them [AW explains what ASIT is]. Na, I mean one party isn't going to kill anyone. If it was persistent...[thinks about it]...na actually there wouldn't be any point in phoning them, I mean by the time they would get here the noise would have stopped.' Kate (30s, Abanoch)

Many of the other participants had not heard of the ASIT team and were unaware that ASIT responds to nuisance noise calls. Most thought that it was the police that should deal with all forms of ASB. The Youth Justice part of the Safer Communities Team deal with long term ASB offending in young people. They have the approach 'that a reduction in youth crime should be pursued by a combination of prevention, diversion and early intervention with young people who are at risk of offending or have become involved in offending, or antisocial behaviour' (Local Council [name withheld], 2010). As part of the Community Planning Partnership, the role of the Youth Justice Team is to provide a holistic, joined up approach through the promotion of social inclusion and working closely with young people, their families and communities affected by offending or antisocial behaviour. There was little obvious evidence in both case study locations of the presence of the youth justice

team, something which is indicative of the approach that the local authority appear to take with preventing ASB in rural Scotland. As such, exploring the extent to which the youth justice team is adequately responding to ASB in the local authority is out with the remit of this project – although a review has been carried out (reference withheld, 2011). This work suggests that partnership approaches based in the community in the local authority have been largely successful, with the centralised SCT working closely with youth workers in rural locations to deliver the prevention and intervention parts of the P.I.E.R model. Indeed, utilising the network of youth workers in Crian and Abanoch, who sit on the local community safety partnerships and link into the youth justice team, allows diffusion of information. Adequate support can be put in place at the local scale within Crian and Abanoch, usually via the youth link worker who works closely with the local authority youth worker. But as the next chapter highlights, this is a spatially and temporally uneven process which relies on the relationship between the youth worker and police officer to be strong.

A third local authority response to ASB relates to the way that they tackle environmental forms of ASB. As chapter seven noted, a key complaint in both Abanoch and Crian relates to the (lack of) response to the dog dirt in both communities. A two-pronged approach of more regular dog bin emptying by the environmental services, combined with better enforcement of fines for those not picking up after their dog was discussed in a focus group:

George: Dog fouling is a big issue in the village...

Issy: Can I say – this dog fouling – it is the bane of my bloody life. I went out on Monday – down at the caravan site, there is a dog bin...overflowing...

Mags: It is always overflowing.

Issy: Before that I had seen someone throwing the dog litter in a green bag over the fence. I came up at the river, and that one was broken, full and overflowing. I am raging about it. The smell was horrible. And I said to him, that's disgusting...and sewage burst on golf course too – and I asked has anyone reported it?

Bill: People never report it.

Issy: I phoned the Council and said...'can I speak to someone who deals with dog litter and she said 'Is it overflowing?' and she says 'we wait on members of the public phoning before it is emptied'...

[General disgust]

Mags: It was all round the town, with no dog warden in sight.

Issy: That is coming from the council. I said 'what the hell is the point in asking people to pick it up if you won't empty it...' Neither of the bins have been reported...I said 'surely to goodness someone on the bin lorry or the street cleaner should be asked to check the bins' – so I asked for every bin to be emptied...is that not ridiculous. They should do it every month at least.

[Focus Group, Pride Abanoch]

Dog dirt, as chapter seven explored, was a very emotive subject in both communities and there is a general sense that the Council are not responding to this form of environmental ASB in an adequate manner. Part of the problem is that the dog wardens need to catch the dog doing its business and its owner not picking it up to enforce a fine and with budget constraints it is hard to justify resourcing this in remote rural locations. The rural context, once again is important. The focus group above were in the process of lobbying the local Member of Parliament about the issue when the field work was being carried out, illustrating how active citizenship leads to the responsibilised community members stepping in to fill the gap left by the state withdrawing. The impact of this low-level harm is also apparent in the above exchange.

8.5 Conclusion

Utilising the differentiation between social measures and mechanisms and situational responses to ASB, this chapter explored the primary response mechanisms to ASB in Abanoch and Crian. At a local scale, this focuses on the way that youth workers identify young people at risk, utilise diversionary projects and implement partnership and local authority objectives, often using their own agency to achieve these means. Understanding these responses helps to illustrate the professional differences that exist between youth workers and the police and the deep understanding many of the youth workers have of the contextual background to offending behaviour. Community change organisations provide a much more situational response to ASB, focusing on preventing ASB through managing the environment of the village. The final part of the chapter looked at the formalised responses to ASB via the local authority.

This chapter also explored the role that the rural context plays in differentiating the responses of the youth services in Abanoch and Crian. Although both communities are relatively well served by youth clubs, the representations of each of the communities differs. In trying to protect the rural idyll, the residents that form the community change organisations in Abanoch are also purposefully exclusionary in their vision of what behaviour should and should not be tolerated in the village. In Crian, by contrast, the deprived rural representations meant that more investment by the local authority in youth services had occurred. Yet, the community change organisations in Crian were also divisive in the way that they tried to improve the situational aspects of the village. The distinctive contexts of both communities therefore open up different challenges for both the youth workers and the community in the ways that they respond to ASB in each of the communities.

Common across both communities, however, was the lack of role that ASIT plays in responding to ASB. Despite being a key part of the response in urban locations, the role of ASIT in Abanoch and Crian is limited. In part, this is because the temporal and contextual nature of ASB means that it is difficult for ASIT to get to rural locations in an appropriate timeframe. Additionally, because very few participants in this study knew that ASIT existed, very few people report ASB to them. This means the local authority were often unaware of problems in rural locations, reinforcing the false and potentially damaging view amongst policy makers that ASB

is not a problem in rural locations. Nevertheless, the prevalent types of ASB identified in this study are not forms of ASB typically dealt with by ASIT. However, this chapter has identified that the responses to ASB are multi-faceted and operate across different scales, from the local, individualised, up to the local authority and partnership orientated responses.

9 The police response to ASB in rural Scotland

9.1 Introduction

Having examined how youth workers and the local authority respond to ASB, this chapter explores the ways that the police response to ASB is structured. This chapter explicitly focuses on ‘the police’ (rather than policing more generally), although it is set in the wider context of the plural policing agenda. Herbert (1997) uses the concept of normative orders, defined as a set of rules and practices, organised round a central value, to examine the way that police territoriality is structured. Although Herbert’s work is developed in the context of Los Angeles, this chapter will highlight how the six normative orders (law, bureaucratic ordering, adventure/machismo, morality, safety and competence) are useful for guiding some of the analysis of the police response to ASB in Scotland.

Yet, these normative orders are also of limited relevance to some of the challenges identified with policing rural contexts, namely the scale of the environment, the lack of resources and the forms of ASB that are common in rural locations. Herbert’s (1997) normative ordering was developed in Los Angeles, where policing tends to be more centred on enforcement rather than the order maintenance that characterises rural policing. The chapter therefore begins by contextualising the case study locations in relation to the police, before arguing that in order to conceptualise fully the response of the police to ASB in these rural locations, the role of discretion, police-community interactions and partnership working need to be considered also. The chapter concludes by addressing the question of whether the police response to ASB should be considered as ‘rural policing’, as a distinct form of policing, or whether it is in effect policing in rural areas.

9.2 The police in rural Scotland

Rural studies, and geography more broadly, have largely neglected scholarly work examining the police and policing (Fyfe, 1991; Mawby and Yarwood, 2011). A number of papers have, however, recently sought to shed light on the varying dimensions of rural policing (see for example Gilling, 2010; Yarwood and Cozens, 2004; Yarwood and Gardner, 2000; Yarwood, 2007), and perhaps, most notably, Mawby and Yarwood’s (2011) edited collection *Rural Policing and Policing the Rural*. In their recent book ‘Rural Crime’, Donnermeyer and DeKeseredy (2014: 4-

6) present a nominal definition of the rural, where they define the rural as: having smaller population sizes and densities; where there is closer collective efficacy (Sampson, 1988); where there is less autonomy between rural communities than before and where cultural, social and economic divides are much more obvious than before. Although these points may accurately describe nominally what makes a location 'rural', Halfacree's (2006) analysis enables the rural to be examined without fetishizing particular rural representations. As Woods (2009) highlights, work on the production, reproduction and contestations of rurality continue to be prominent within the discipline of 'rural geography', with Rye (2006: 409) stating that 'rather than asking what the rural 'is', the pivotal question has become: how do actors socially construct their rurality?' In relation to rural police officers, understanding how police officers socially construct the beat that they cover – the space, the locale and their response mechanisms – has important resource implications for both the police and the communities (Mawby and Yarwood, 2011). In a time of financial constraint there has been an increasing focus on the best way to police geographically diverse locales and to identify 'what works' in the way that policing in rural areas is conducted.

The study was undertaken prior to 'Police Scotland' being implemented on the 1st of April 2013, thus the exact numbers of officers described below has changed. At the time of the research, however, the community police officer in Abanoch was one of five officers in a team, with four response officers and a community officer being managed by a community sergeant. The section Inspector has overall responsibility for the four teams which cover various parts of this policing area, with the Abanoch team making up one of those four teams. The Chief Inspector managed four ward Inspectors within the larger geography force area. In Crian, because the community officer worked part time and because the base police station is larger, the structure is a bit more complex. All the community officers working in this section are managed by a non-operational Community Sergeant. The local ward Inspector is also in charge of the same police station, while the Chief Inspector is located in the nearby city.

Of more relevance to the response mechanisms of the police is the scale of the rural beats that the police have to navigate. The remote rural context of Abanoch, in particular, is highlighted in red in Figure 9.1 below. The difficulty in exerting

control over this spatial scale undoubtedly creates resourcing challenges. Yet there are also opportunities associated with knowing individuals in the locality, forging relationships and having the opportunity to spend more time with community members in rural locations.

Figure 9.1 shows both Abanoch and Crian beat areas:

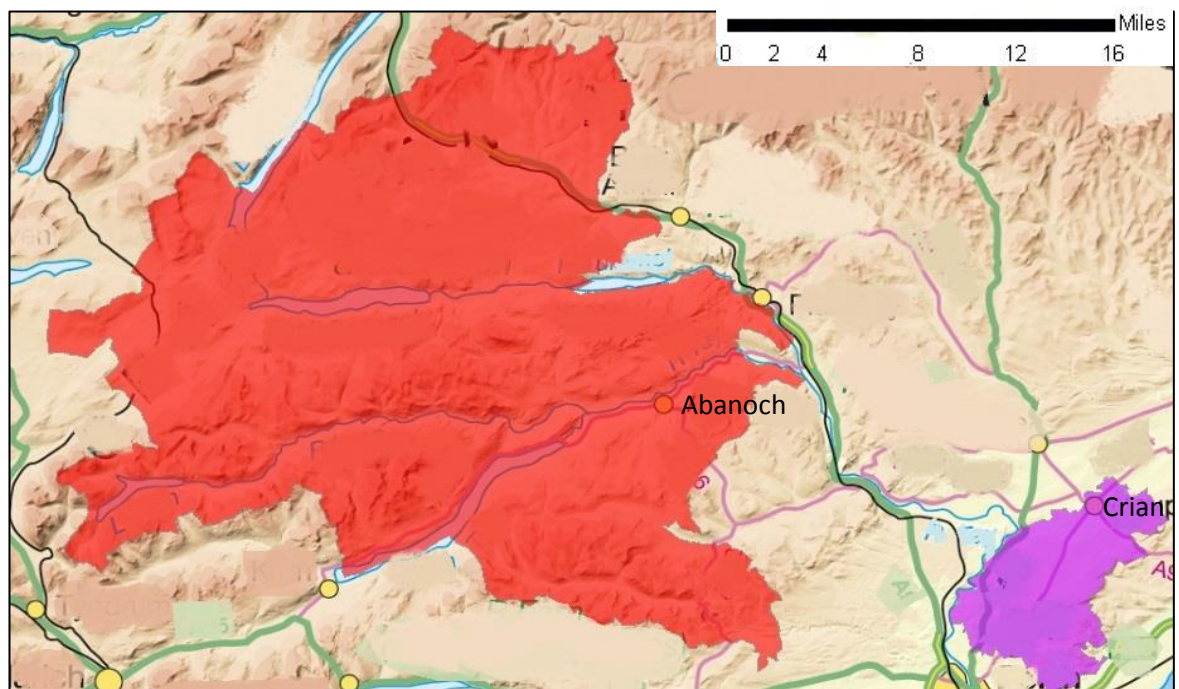


Figure 9.1: Maps of beat areas of Abanoch and Crian

The red area contains the beat area for the Abanoch community police officer, whilst the purple contains the area for the community police officer from Crian. This shows the vast scale of the Abanoch beat area in particular, with large areas of it being uninhabited wilderness. This requires the police to have a distinct style, something which this chapter argues should be referred to as ‘rural policing’ rather than ‘policing in rural areas’. Thus in contrast to chapter six, where it is argued that ASB in rural Scotland is more appropriate than rural ASB, this chapter argues that the nuances, challenges, opportunities and skills of the rural officer mean that rural policing is something distinct and subsequently requires a distinct approach.

Police culture has been the subject of debate for many years, with classic studies like Bittner (1967), Skolnick (1966) and Westley (1970) shedding light on specific cultural nuances of the police profession. Although considered simplistic by today’s standards in policing work, Bittner’s (1967) seminal work was the basis for Wright’s (2002) study, which proposed ‘modes’ that the police operate in. Sklansky (2007)

interestingly uses the analogy of image-burn in suffered by old computer screens as a way of illustrating the ‘cognitive burn-in’ that oversimplified assumptions about police culture have given rise to. Dominant police cultures include pragmatism, something which existing studies argue is a barrier to partnership working. Yet O’Neill & McCarthy (2014) highlight some of the complexity in this area by drawing on research in the partnership arena which suggests that officer pragmatism is only useful once police officers experience first-hand the benefits of partnership. They will then be more committed to it, with police pragmatism in this context encouraging long-term partnership working rather than the short-term pragmatism that the literature tends to identify. There is also a large literature exploring police culture and the impact of this in various spheres of the police. This thesis, however, is not seeking to provide an analysis of rural police officer culture, but rather examine what it is that structures the police response to ASB over space. Nevertheless, inevitably this takes account of some aspects of the police culture, with Herbert’s (1997) work on ‘normative orders’ allowing for consideration of the way that broader structural and cultural issues operate over space and in different spatial contexts – something which lies at the heart of this thesis.

Herbert (1997) argues that, police control space and enact their territoriality through a series of *objective* and *subjective* normative orders. These orders are defined as a set of rules and practices, organised round a central value. As Herbert (1997) argues, there is a tendency for literature to focus on the subjective normative orders, particularly the policing culture literature, which ultimately underplays the role that objective normative orders have in in the regulation of the spatial practices of the police. By recognising the importance of objective normative orders, Herbert does not deny that the subjective influences are not also important, rather that in order to understand police actions and the way they control space both subjective and objective normative orders must be examined.

Yet, normative orders only tell part of the story about the structures that influence the police response to ASB in rural Scotland. As the previous chapters have already highlighted, the rural case study locations have distinct spatial and temporal characteristics, something which is reflected in the way that policing in rural environments is conducted. This chapter is going to begin by examining the ways that order maintenance rather than enforcement structures the policing response to

ASB in rural Scotland. Herbert's (1997) work on normative ordering can be applied, in part, to this work, particularly around the role of the law and bureaucracy in structuring the policing response to ASB.

9.3 Negotiating order and responding to ASB: Police discretion, community interaction and partnership working in rural Scotland

The rural context is a key element in understanding the challenges of responding to ASB and negotiating order maintenance, with Henry and McAra (2012: 344) highlighting that negotiated order is temporally and spatially specific. They note that negotiated orders require 'due recognition to the role that social actors have played in their constitution'. This is something that this thesis seeks to do by understanding the way that officers seek to construct rural space as places which can be patrolled and controlled in specific ways according to the way that they (re)produce and legitimise their responses to ASB. The challenges related to policing the rural are summed up by Yarwood and Mawby (2011: 218), who note that:

'In many cases those policing the countryside face a difficult task: one that must balance efficiency against community interaction; local need against national policy; fairness with local sensitivity; and, above all, trying to achieve these over often vast areas with limited resources'

The micro geographies and spatial context therefore are important elements for understanding the specific policing responses to ASB in rural Scotland. Order maintenance rather than enforcement is an important part of the way that the response of the police to ASB is structured in Scotland. Discretion, partnership working and police-community relationships therefore play a key role in the police response to ASB in both Crian and Abanoch. These are going to be explored in turn.

9.4 The importance of discretion to the police

According to Davis' (1971: 4) the 'public officer has discretion wherever the effective limits of his [sic] power leave him free to make a choice among possible courses of action and inaction'. Influences on discretionary decision making emerge from legal and administrative rules, the informal rules associated with occupational cultures, the agency and subjectivity of the individual officer and the context within which decisions are made (Bronitt and Stenning, 2011). Discretion has been examined in a number of contexts (see for example Alpert et al., 2004; Bronitt and Stenning, 2011; Brown, 1981; Davis, 1971; Ericson, 2007; Lowe, 2011), with

Ericson (2007), usefully highlighting the important role that the context of organisational constraints play in fettering the use of discretion. Whilst this is not the place to explore this literature, this chapter will highlight the importance of the rural context in the discretionary police response to ASB. Rurality plays a key part in the way that the police respond to the challenges of ASB – the physical distances between locales means that the policing response is dependent on factors beyond the normative orders identified by Herbert (1997). Gilling (2010) discusses how different rural communities are characterised and represented in different ways. The scale of rurality, however, also affects how the police can respond to incidents. This became apparent in one particular interaction, where the careful balancing act that officers have to achieve between enforcing the law and appeasing the community was apparent:

We are in the car on patrol, doing a similar route to the usual – the figure of eight route through the village. The officer gets a radio message in his earpiece saying that there has been a complaint about young people causing a disturbance. A group of 10 or 12 young people aged between 11 and 14 were running up the street and making a lot of noise. A couple of holidaymakers in a rented cottage heard this and went out to confront them – the group then turned on them and started shouting and swearing. The couple are primarily concerned that their car would get scratched. The officer then said ‘I reassured them that this wouldn’t happen and if it did I would bust the kids, because I know who they are and I know their parents – that’s the beauty of working in a small village’.

We head down to the bottom of the village, [the park] and the officer rolls down the window from the road and we can hear the sound of young people messing about in the park below. There are five young lads and three young girls. I know most of them from undertaking fieldwork at the youth club. The officer gets them to gather round him – in a kind of story telling kind of way – and focuses on a young lad. He asks them if any of them know why he might be there ... the story then emerges, that a lad of 14/15 had come down to the park and thrown sand at one of the girls. The boys had taken this badly and decided to chase the lad, running up past the house that the holidaymakers were in. They heard the commotion and came out and instead of continuing to chase the older lad the young people started shouting abuse at the holiday makers instead.

The officer listens intently and then says ‘phone me if you have problems with other people – do not take the law into your own hands’. As we walk back up to the car, I am thinking about the consequence of what the officer calls his ‘fatherly advice’. We go back to the holidaymakers and the officer tells the couple he has spoken to the young people and if there are any more problems to phone him on his mobile. They feel like they are getting personalised policing service while the young people are ‘nudged’ into

behaving 'if they [the other young people] see me speaking to a young lad in a mature manner and respecting him and him respecting me, then I can gain the respect of the group and not deal with it in a criminal manner.
Field diary, Abanoch, 13/10/11

As this extract highlights, a key part of discussions with the officers in both case study locations related to the role that discretion plays in deciding how to respond to ASB. This excerpt highlights the careful balancing act that this officer tries to achieve between dealing with the complaint from members of the community and enforcing the law. In this case the young people have not committed a crime worthy of further action and the officer deals with the incident without the need issue any formal enforcement tools, instead using his policing discretion. As Bowling & Foster (2002) highlight, policing functions vary spatially and the mechanisms utilised also vary across different contexts. The community officer in the field diary excerpt above has a broader role within the community; and while the enforcement of law is one of the ways that they control territory, community officers have other priorities within the rural case study areas. The role of a rural community officer is therefore more blurred than policing officers in other ranks and roles, a theme which is returned to throughout this chapter.

Prevention and intervention are the dominant policy discourses in relation to ASB in Scotland (Burney, 2009; Ormston and Anderson, 2009). However, as the field diary excerpt above highlights, localised knowledge of the individuals within a rural community contributes to the extent of discretion that an officer uses. Thus, the rural locale and the everyday lives of those living in rural communities structures the ways that the police respond to ASB in rural Scotland (Halfacree, 2006). Herbert's (1997) work on normative orders identifies 'the law' as a key bureaucratic organising concept, yet in this study, the role of discretion appeared to be a more important organising concept for structuring the police response to ASB.

9.4.1 The law and discretion: Different sides of the same coin?

Yet, 'the law' remains a key guiding principle of the police. Herbert (1997: 37), for example, states, that although there is a clear place for the use of policing discretion, 'no matter how regularly police officers may escape the control of the formal structures of the law, their basic mission, responsibilities, and powers are principally defined by legal stipulations'. However, as the extract above shows, discretion is a

careful balancing act, with officers in low ranking positions typically more likely to exercise discretion (Lowe, 2011).

The lack of definitional clarity surrounding ASB means enforcing ‘the law’ becomes even more of a judgement call than in other more obvious situations of wrongdoing. Consequently, although the excerpt highlights the role that discretion played, a different officer may have responded in a different way if they had not had the embedded situational knowledge possessed by this particular community officer. Closely linked to the way that the police use their powers of law are the ways that spaces are defined. Enacting ‘the law’, or choosing to use discretionary powers, requires a contextualised understanding of the locale, of the individuals involved and of the alternative disposals available to the officer. Upholding the law and using discretion are therefore two sides of the same coin, with different officers responding to ASB in different ways. In order to utilise discretion, therefore, an officer must also uphold the law in other cases. ASB that is located in the parochial/low harms side of Figure 2.1 is likely to be less often enforced than ASB which is located in the public/personal side of Figure 2.1. Where that line is drawn, however, is dependent on the individual officer making the decision and the context in which the ASB occurs.

Response officers, for example, who have a broader policing remit across a larger geographic area, are expected to respond in a more robust way than community police officers do. A sergeant, who is responsible for one community officer and five response officers notes:

‘we try and protect the community officer’s time, giving them the opportunity to do other things in the community...the response officers are much more involved with responding to incidents, enforcement...at the end of the day if someone needs the jail, they’ll get it...and that stands for both types of officers. But generally speaking, community officers understand where individuals are coming from when they are making their decisions...’ (Community Sergeant, Crian, 20/01/13)

Different policing roles elicit different responses in relation to the law, something which has been noted in other studies of policing culture (Chan, 1997; Holdaway, 1983; Loftus, 2010). However, in rural Scotland the everyday lives of those within the rural community impacts upon the decision making of the officer. The situated knowledge that the respective community officers in Crian and Abanoch

demonstrate, affects the ways that they spatially control incidences of minor ASB in the community. Thus, although discretion is regularly applied in urban responses to ASB, in the rural context making autonomous discretionary judgements appears to be a distinct skill developed through intimate knowledge of the community that is being policed:

The community officer discusses discretion in the patrol car, noting it is a skill you pick up over the years... 'I mean, like when you start on a rural beat like this you just follow your training...but you soon learn who are the ones who will cause bother and cause you bother...with the young people it is about...knowing when to come down hard and when to give them guidance...for me it's about understanding the community Field diary, Abanoch, 1/10/11

This quote highlights the advantage that these rural community police officers have in knowing the community in which they police. Discretionary decisions in rural policing therefore appear to be used to structure the nature of the policed population, with certain 'disreputable' individuals whose status is determined in a variety of ways (including through the use of stereotypes) becoming over-policed.

Indeed, with embedded knowledge, it becomes possible to use other methods of control, and where appropriate, use discretion to reinforce order maintenance rather than enforcement. Crawford & Lister (2007) note that discretionary powers require significant professional judgement, something which takes experience and time and a certain competency to build up. Discretion in this sense becomes about mediating between those complaining about ASB in particular locations in the village and negotiation, discussing with and speaking to the perpetrators and the complainants. This is reminiscent of Banton's (1964) work, where the rural context necessitates a peace-keeper role (as opposed to law enforcer typology) amongst officers in order to maintain social order. When asked about the role of discretion, this officer emphasised its importance in responding to ASB in rural Scotland:

Discretion is vital. It is trying to weigh up – they [the officer] - will make that assessment themselves – you know is something serious enough that we can't ignore it by just giving a warning. Do we have to report somebody and caution and charge them? Or is it something of a minor scale? And the person hasn't come to our attention before, and maybe a warning might be sufficient. Essentially, we police by consent, so we have got to have the public onside to police effectively. So whilst there are things we can't have discretion over – drink drivers for example – we have no discretion over this nor should we...but there might be instances where maybe someone in [name of city] doing the

same thing will get the jail where here they won't. You need to box cleverer here. Particularly with disturbances, because the nearest backup might be half an hour away...by blue light... Inspector (Crian, 23/1/13)

It appears that discretion, as structured by the rural context, plays a key part in the way that a rural officer responds to ASB for two reasons. Firstly, because officers typically know the individual perpetrators of the ASB and the family circumstances, they can routinely respond to ASB in a less formalised manner. Secondly, the rural is not a uniform space, with the everyday lives of those in rural communities affected by the rural localities. Thus, whilst the police fundamentally have a responsibility for enforcing the law and the law structures the policing response to ASB in rural Scotland, discretion plays an arguably more important role in how the police respond to and deal with ASB in Crian and Abanoch. Yet, variations exist in the response of the police between Abanoch and Crian, with the remote rural locale context in Abanoch having different resource implications compared to Crian. Herbert's second objective normative order, bureaucratic ordering, is an area which helps illuminate some important differences between Crian and Abanoch and the way that discretion is utilised.

9.4.2 Bureaucratic ordering and police officer discretion

Bureaucratic ordering is identified as important by Herbert (1997) and essentially relates to the organisational control within the police service. The bureaucratic regulations within the police 'structure their territorial practices' and 'the particular responsibilities the officer is to assume within the territory' (Herbert, 1997: 61). There is however, a tension between the apparent 'success' of bureaucratization and the actual implementation of bureaucratic practices. As Reiner (2010) notes, the rigidity and bureaucracy within the police leads to variations in the bureaucratic burden between the horizontal and vertical strands of the organisational flowchart. The police are required to have 'a craft like ability to adapt to the particular context...be situationally rational...and aware of the need for flexibility and anxious to exercise their individual judgement, resist efforts to regulate their practices' (Herbert, 1997: 61). Bureaucracy structures the police response to ASB in rural areas, both in relation to ASB and in relation to broader policing (in)action.

An interesting dimension of police organisational responses to ASB links to the spatial variation between areas depending on the Sergeant and Inspector and the

roles they have in the face of different situational challenges between Abanoch and Crian. The community officers in the respective communities also face different contextualised challenges. In Crian, bureaucratic ordering lies at the heart of the response of the police to ASB. The main community officer for Crian works part-time, something which fundamentally structures his role and ability to respond to ASB in Crian:

I would like to be in Crian more often...thing is, I work Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday day shift. Monday is catching up with the weekend stuff in the area, Tuesday is paperwork needed for court and if I'm lucky I can get into Crian for a bit on Wednesday...and this doesn't include time for attending court and other abstractions... Field diary, Crian, 27/02/12

Although this is accommodated appropriately within the policing section, part-time officers raise interesting bureaucratic challenges for policing management and responding to ASB. As Dick (2004) identifies, notions of part-time working within the police are frequently produced within a discourse which understands flexibility from the point of view of the organisation and not the officer. The top-down, reactive bureaucratic structure of the police makes it difficult for the organisation to enable part-time working and maintain service delivery (Dick, 2004). This is particularly true in the rural context, where the community of Crian effectively do not receive the same level of police input from a community officer as the community of Abanoch. As the Sergeant explained, *'this officer isn't involved much with preventing ASB because he isn't able to be in the village at the peak times'* (Notes from research diary, Crian, 10/01/13). This impacts on the situated knowledge of this officer, and, consequently the degree to which he feels able to use his discretion.

The spatial variations in community policing between the two case study areas illustrate the 'horizontal variations in territorial concerns' (Herbert, 1997). In Abanoch, the community police officer is full time and having been there for two years (although he has now been moved on), is well known in the community. Most participants in the study from Abanoch, including the young people, know who the community officer is. He is active on twitter, he 'tweets on the beat', and is very keen to engage with community members through this. The community sergeant overseeing the community officer in Abanoch understands the importance of *'having*

an officer on the ground, an officer who is seen and most importantly an officer who is doing community policing well' (Interview with Community Sergeant, Abanoch).

Bureaucratic ordering enhanced the use of discretion by the officer in Abanoch to an even greater extent. With only five officers covering a large rural area, there are serious resource implications involved with arresting individuals. From Abanoch, it is a minimum fifty-minute drive to the nearest police cells which, when the amount of time booking-in the suspect in is taken into account, can mean that an arresting police officer can be out of the beat area for up to four hours:

It definitely is a consideration here, I mean if they need the jail they'll get it, but there is another consideration that our neighbours in the city don't consider and that is if I take someone to custody, that's me out the beat for...well it depends, but usually four hours by the time I've got the...got it sorted down there. And in a [beat] area this size, that's a consideration...
Field diary, Abanoch, 19/01/12

This quote highlights the importance of the rural context in structuring the policing response to ASB. These resource implications are undoubtedly another factor for rural police officers to consider when making an arrest, making discretion a favourable option when dealing with minor public and parochial ASB, meaning less formalised, non-enforcement options are often utilised over traditional ASB disposal methods. Arrests for low level ASB in Abanoch are therefore low in comparison to urban locations.

This section has demonstrated that the spatiality of policing ASB in rural Scotland is intrinsically linked to the discretion of officers. What this study also shows is that the more rural a location, the greater a part that discretion appears to play in the way those community officers tend to respond to ASB. Bureaucratic ordering therefore plays an important part in the underlying decision taken by an officer to use their discretion or not. Discretion was less of a feature of the officers in Crian (compared to Abanoch), where a lack of a dedicated full-time community officer meant more cover by response officers who had less of an intimate community knowledge and were consequently more likely to use enforcement. The rural context is of central importance, because in the examples discussed above, the lack of additional resources in large rural policing beats mean that there is often a lack of other officers available to cover when individuals are arrested, meaning that arrest for ASB is less likely. These findings, linking spatiality and policing, mirror those of Fenwick et al.,

(2011) who note that the micro-geographies of police community interaction are important for senior police officers to understand that individual communities require varying input, something they term ‘being in the community or being of the community’. Order maintenance rather than enforcement plays an important part in the way that the police respond to rural ASB, something that is reflected in the police-community interactions

9.5 The importance of police-community relations

As the previous sections have noted, the rural police officers response to ASB often requires a degree of discretion, more so than in other urban-based responses to ASB. This is for two primary reasons – firstly the physical size and number of people in the case study locations mean that the police can interact with those in the village and young people, helping to mediate a response to the disturbance at this local scale. Secondly, the rural context creates a challenging bureaucratic and structural complexity which in many ways encourages the use of police discretion with some of the more minor incidents of ASB. Importantly, however, being able to apply discretion in this way requires a nuanced and constructed situated knowledge of the community. The rural context is therefore important, with officers in Abanoch and Crian appearing to have a deep, contextualised knowledge about the community they police and the ASB which is pertinent in each community. Understanding which families ‘give them trouble’ or which areas of the village the young people tend to congregate allows for the officer to engage in different ways. As Slade (2013: 120) highlights, many rural police officers are required to ‘think on their feet’ and interact with the community in a different manner than the officers who work in large urban contexts. In both Abanoch and Crian, the community police officers were very much part of the respective communities, with both living close to their respective beats. This is something which is exemplified in Cain's (1968: 378) study, where she observed the ‘welfarist orientation’ of juvenile liaison officers could be seen more commonly in the culture of officers policing specific territories.

9.5.1 The importance of situated community knowledge

The balancing act, particularly in Abanoch, of being an officer in a remote rural community and also living close to the community that you police, was highlighted as a challenge but also as an advantage for responding to ASB (Fenwick et al., 2011; Slade, 2013). When the officer is in the supermarket or dropping their child at

school, they are recognised as ‘the police officer’. This was noted as difficult at times for the family of the officer in Abanoch, and in the following excerpt he recounts catching his own child involved in some very low-level ASB:

Discussion soon turns to the role of living and working in the same community, with [the officer] admitting that there is a challenge. He recalls an incident last winter when a kid threw a snowball at a teacher in a park and got into trouble. The officer had been down at the park, because he knows that is where some of the kids hang about – especially his son – and had seen said event from a distance. He had seen his son was there, but decided not to say anything. When he got home he asked his son about it and said he would back him ‘to the hilt’ if he was adamant he wasn’t involved – which he did given what he had seen...however [the Officer] said it was an awkward situation and underlined the complexity of living and working in the same community... Field diary, Abanoch, 23/11/11

The above situation highlights the complex role and the negotiated interactions this officer has with the community of Abanoch, trying to balance his role as a police officer with that of being a parent and allowing his children the freedom to hang about with friends without the fear of being watched the whole time. Living and working in the same community was something that also affected the community officer in Crian. Despite being part time, he was known in the community, partly because of his wife’s recent death. Many in the community therefore knew of these circumstances, something which was reinforced when out on patrol with him:

I am out with [the Officer] and he tells me he has just done a charity walk in aid of his wife’s memory...she died last year...in the hour I am walking with him around Crian three different people come up and give him the sponsor money they owe for him completing the walk... Field diary, Crian, 24/04/12

Although very different to the responsibilized citizen agenda, having this kind of informal knowledge and understanding of the respective rural communities (and the community members of the officers life) means that these officers can respond to ASB in different ways and with different priorities compared to their urban counterparts. Overall, the officer therefore has the ability to create more positive working relationships with the individuals within rural communities.

Carr (2012) helpfully identifies four types of citizen-police interactions, which given that there are differences between Abanoch and Crian in the way that the respective officers interact with the communities, helps underline the level of the citizen’s role in negotiating order:

Citizen type	Role
Citizen Partner	Takes active role in negotiating order
Citizen Associate	Consulted about crime and safety but has no real means of making inputs
Citizen Bystander	Takes no role beyond being a passive observer of law enforcement
Opponent	Completely alienated from police

Table 9.1: Citizen-police interaction (Carr, 2012)

As explained above and in chapter 8, in Abanoch, the officer has worked and lived nearby for three years, his children go to school there and he participates in the everyday village life. Predominantly, the citizen-police interaction therefore operates at the partner and associate levels of interaction, with the community taking an active role in shaping the way that ASB is policed. In contrast, although the officer in Crian has a situated knowledge of the community, built up through years of living within the village, being part time means that forming professional relationships with those in the community who negotiate the order maintenance is problematic. Most of the citizen-police relationships in Crian therefore tend to operate at the citizen bystander and occasionally associate levels on Carr's (2012) schema.

However, the process of citizen-police interaction also operates unevenly at the community scale. As section 8.3.2 noted, there is a literature questioning the legitimacy of the broader community policing movement. Mitchell et al. (2013) note that it tends to be the powerful members of the community who determine who is considered 'in the community', including what behaviours should be acceptable or not. Many of the young people accused of committing ASB are in fact defined as anti-social by people who do not have an understanding of young people (Brown, 2013; Neal and Walters, 2008). Many young citizens may therefore feel like they are citizen-opponents, even though the police would describe their relationships with young people in both communities as broadly positive. Structurally, therefore, there are decisions that can inhibit the police-community interactions, with the police engaging with specific parts of the community more readily than others, with the community change groups identified in chapter eight for example, taking more of a

citizen-partner role than others do in the community. The context in which these relationships are developed therefore becomes important.

This leads to some members of the community feeling that the way that the police interact with the community is unequal, something that one of the youth club leaders in Crian identified:

'I mean, it's not like we have a bad relationship with [the officer], it's more like no relationship because he only works days. So how's he going to speak to the skaters, or the other groups we have? He can't...' Graeme (Youth Worker, Crian)

This kind of relationship is what Herbert (2006) refers to as subservient, where the community needs are overpowered by the bureaucratic decision-making by the police themselves. Another example frequently discussed in this study and relating to what the community perceive as a subservient relationship, was in relation to the largely bureaucratic decision to move an officer on. Despite the concerns of the community about moving on officers, community members felt they had little say in the process and were therefore 'not recognised as possessing a legitimate need to direct police operations' (Herbert, 2006: 68).

Disrupting the situated knowledge by moving officers on forms an important part of the police culture, with police officers being resigned to moving roles and jobs if they are told they have to. As part of a disciplined organisation, there is a certain acceptance that if, you are asked to move you will do:

'I like this beat and I will do what I can to stay in this beat, but the bottom line is...if I'm asked to move I will and I will do an even better job at the next section...it's that kinda attitude when they [the Sergeant and Inspector] ask us to jump, we ask 'how high'...' Field diary, Crian, 14/12/12

Although police managers maintain that there is a degree of choice on the part of the community officer about when they get moved on, in reality it often comes down to a management decision based on other bureaucratic factors. There is frustration within the wider communities of Abanoch and Crian, that the effort to build relationships between community members and the police is undermined by senior officers constantly moving talented officers on:

'You get a great community officer and boom before you know they have been moved on! The amount of people who get parachuted in and out of here, there is no sustainability and there is no continuity...there is no

opportunity for the kids to build up any kind of trust, not that they even really care...’ Fraser (Youth Worker, Abanoch)

The community capacity builder covering the area that Crian is located also noted:

‘The biggest challenge is constantly changing faces...people have to move away to get recognition, but the top community officers should be paid to stay! In some circumstances, people get moved and we are like ‘aw fuck, they were only here for a year but they have been moved on again – I was just starting to get to know them...’ Jim (Community Capacity Builder, Crian)

There are understandable and legitimate reasons why a community officer may be moved on frequently, the most common being that it is important for officers to gain experience in a number of different places and scenarios for their own career development. This is particularly true in rural contexts, where there is a reputation that officers working in these areas get less experience of complex policing work (Slade, 2013). Consequently being a rural community officer is not always positive for career development, with the Sergeant in Abanoch admitting that *‘the pace is different here – you aren’t exposed to the same volume of incidents as you would be in the city’*. There is a bureaucratic pressure on both the management officers to move on and for community police officers who want to progress to move on. A second, more contentious reason given for moving community officers on relates to the need for an officer to maintain a clear boundary between themselves and the communities in which they police. In rural communities this can be complex; as has already been noted, many officers live and work in the same community and the distinction between being on-duty and off-duty can become blurred (Fenwick et al., 2011). However, the community officers in this project felt that this rationale undermined their decision making as professionals and argued that the positives for being close to the community outweighed the negatives.

The police interaction with the community is therefore a key component of the rural policing paradigm. Whilst situated knowledge is a key part of being able to use discretion and to be able to develop and utilise community relations, rural officers, in a similar way to their urban counterparts, frequently do not get the chance to form these relationships because they get moved on quickly. With a decision where neither the community nor the officer wants to be moved and where the officer’s performance is acceptable, it appears that decisions are made in a bureaucratic manner, underlining the struggle between the cops on the streets and those in

management positions (Herbert 1997). In this manner, the community has no say in the policing decision and is subservient to the bureaucratic ordering of the police (Herbert, 2006, 1997). There are understandable and legitimate reasons why a community officer may be moved on relatively frequently, however, this threatens and has a substantial impact on the informal knowledge that the community police officers employ in structuring their responses to ASB in rural Scotland.

There are challenges therefore in building the trust and legitimacy to form strong police-community relations. Halfacree's (2006) conceptualisation of rural space helps underline the importance of understanding the everyday lives of the rural, the representations of the rural and how these intertwine with the rural locality to form the totality of rural space. The police engage with all three parts of the dialectic to construct socially their role within the rural community, negotiating order maintenance to fit with the norms of the community, something which is informed and enhanced by the situated knowledge of the community. The next section is going to explore the dominant characteristics of a rural police officer. In contrast to the four subjective normative orders that Herbert (1997) identifies as key in structuring the police response in Los Angeles (adventure/machismo, safety, morality and competence) only the latter two were apparent to any degree in the way that the police in rural Scotland respond to ASB.

9.6 Characterising the rural officer

Many policing studies over the past five decades have sought to understand what core characteristics make up the police officers working cultures (Bittner, 1975; Bowling and Foster, 2002; Chan, 1997; Loftus, 2010; Manning and Van Maanen, 1978; Manning, 1998; Reiner, 2010; Skolnick, 1966). One such characteristic is that of adventure/machismo, described by Herbert (1997: 80) as:

‘A subcultural collection of rules and practices that values the courage, power, and aggressiveness of an officer eager to be pitted against the most lethal criminal enemies. Unafraid to face dangerous challenges, capable even of handling themselves strategically in the face of potential death...’

Similarly to Cain (1968) and Banton (1964), this chapter argues that at the scale of the individual, rural police officers tend not to exhibit adventure/machismo in the way that they interact with the community when responding to ASB.

Far from encountering daily life and death situations, as the police officers in Herbert's study of Los Angeles Police Department do, rural policing in Scotland is about balancing the challenges of remoteness, isolation and a lack of nearby back-up with the community's expectations and an ability to problem solve (Fenwick et al., 2011; Mawby and Yarwood, 2011). The lack of traditional forms of machismo/adventure is a primary reason why rural policing is not considered a particularly glamorous policing role. As the Community Sergeant in Crian noted

'A rural beat like that [Abanoch], well that's where you were farmed out before retirement or if you had fallen out with your boss, it's not what you would call exciting' Field diary, Crian, 20/06/12

Anecdotally rural community policing beats are considered easier, more placid and less exciting than city policing, thus they tend to be considered as 'soft' and 'boring' by other police officers. Not only does ASB rarely require a 'macho' response, but also the relational police-community interactions are far more important for structuring the policing response, interactions that rarely require a macho response.

Yet the remote rural context of Abanoch did give rise to the characteristics of adventure/machismo in the officers' private life. The male community police officer I conducted ride-alongs with in Abanoch would reinforce the adventure and machismo aspects by talking about the activities he takes part in when he is off-shift:

'I am an active member of the canoe club...I also help with the gamekeepers on my days off, you know shooting and stuff...and they know everything about what is going on...I am also part of mountain rescue...[despite not having the policing specialism], it is important to maintain some excitement in the job here...' Field diary, Abanoch, 12/10/11

'It can be hard living and working as a police officer in a rural community, you know...I love it here though, I love the way of life and the fact I can go shooting, or canoe some of the best rapids when I am off duty...' Field diary, Abanoch, 03/10/11

The rural context therefore, ironically, services the adventure/machismo side of this officer's character. In addition, as a response to what he readily admits is a quiet beat, this officer regularly discusses the additional specialisms he has picked up in the police, not because they help him understand the community of Abanoch any better, but because it provides him with some excitement in his work. Adventure and machismo are therefore apparent in this officer's choice to take up CBRN and

public order specialisms. It was something that he repeatedly discussed during ride-alongs:

We are in the patrol car when he again brings up his specialisms and talks about how he could get called away at a moment's notice – 'this beat is quiet...I have other specialisms which make the job more exciting...if there's a drug incident or something...I'll get called... [I] was also in London policing the riots and I'm CBRN (chemical, biological, radiological, nuclear) trained... Field diary, Abanoch, 03/11/11

In a sense, these additional training options provided the excitement and the adventure to make the more mundane, everyday character of a sleepy rural village more interesting and 'prove his mettle' in other ways. His additional training and skills are very masculine and involve use of force and being riot-trained. I am aware that this is the viewpoint of just one police officer in a remote rural community and may be down to the personality of that police officer, however, these reflections provide an interesting insight into one of the most commonly discussed occupational cultures of a police officer (Reiner, 2010). These findings were not as apparent in Crian, where a lack of time with the community officer meant that I did not get much of an understanding of his hobbies and private life.

Herbert (1997) also discusses morality and competence as having important influences on the way that officers respond to crime in Los Angeles. Similarly, to the normative orders of adventure/machismo, morality and competence appear to have a limited resonance for the police response to ASB in rural Scotland. Morality as a subjective normative order, is linked to the broader ASB agenda and fits a broader political narrative around state morality, where morality, good behaviour and citizenship are equated under the governmentality thesis (Garland, 2001, 1997). The culture of control extends to the police, who 'in acting to promote what they define as morally good, police officers attempt to reform the citizenry and, simultaneously, to conduct themselves as moral agents' (Herbert, 1997: 142). Linked to themes of pacification and cohesion – the morally developed citizen is portrayed as productive and dedicated to the nation's overall welfare. Herbert's central argument around the normative order of morality focuses round the police officer's attempt to reform the citizenry and, simultaneously, to construct themselves as valuable moral agents.

Due in part to the remote location and the rural context of the case studies, the officers responding to ASB in Abanoch are required to make moral judgement calls on their own on a frequent basis:

When we are out on patrol, I ask about the community officer primary role. 'A key part of my role as a cop in a rural place is protecting the vulnerable. That can mean people who are disabled, victims of crime, young and old...and by their very definition, those who suffer ASB are vulnerable...our response should reflect that vulnerability' Field diary, Abanoch, 30/10/11

This officer constructs the victims of ASB as vulnerable, and the police therefore construct themselves as moral agents in their response to ASB. In contrast to Herbert's analysis of policing morality – which focuses heavily on constructing 'the bad guy/ evil' in the context of Los Angeles – this officer talks about protecting the vulnerable as a key part of his role. The lack of service provision in remote rural communities, something Gilling (2011: 77) describes as the 'deprived countryside', means that in order to protect the vulnerable, officers are frequently called to make difficult and complex moral judgements about individuals on a daily basis. Thus, although morality informs the policing response to ASB, it does so in a way which contrasts with the way that Herbert (1997) identifies. Morality, in the sense of responding to ASB in rural Scotland, appears to be influenced and encapsulated in narratives of vulnerability. This is part of a broader move, introduced after the Pilkington case¹¹, where vulnerability and ASB were linked to the death of Fiona Pilkington and her daughter. Rural officers therefore have an important role in identifying vulnerable individuals at risk of not having the support they may otherwise have in urban locations. Thus, the community context of both locations meant that different moral values are played out in different ways, something which the community officer in each location constructs at an individual level.

Similarly, 'competence' in the rural officer is important for defining police-community relationships, but not necessarily in the ways that Herbert identifies. The precise definition of competency varies depending on the officer's bureaucratically defined position (Herbert, 1997). The response of the community police officers to ASB forms an important part of assessing whether an individual is competent or not,

¹¹ Fiona Pilkington killed herself and her disabled daughter after being repeatedly victimised and harassed. For more information see here: (<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/crime/9942971/Fiona-Pilkington-case-could-happen-again.html>)

something which is judged by the whether the community are satisfied with the ways that the officer has dealt with the ASB. This data is not collected in a regular and rigorous way and is hard to measure at the local scale. As Mackenzie & Henry (2009: 45) note, it is important to think about evaluating the effectiveness and efficiency when considering the performance (and therefore competence) of a community officer. Large-scale surveys such as the Scottish Crime and Justice survey ask questions about the effectiveness and efficiency of the police, but analysis of the community relationship with the police operating at a local, everyday scale that is missing from these analysis. It is the role of the community Sergeant and the Inspector to monitor the community officer's competence and performance. Interestingly, however, prior to the introduction of Police Scotland, this tended to be less about measuring outcomes and more about whether the officer is identifying solutions to problems in the community and understands what is expected of them, underscoring the importance of police-community interactions:

[In response to a question about measuring the performance of community officers] 'Yes, there are certain things. They have to have a handle on what is happening in their area, so if for instance we were having a spate of problems, it would be expected for me to say to the officer 'what can we do to prevent this? Is there an awareness we can do? What is the crime pattern? What is the trend of it? Do we need to go into schools and educate people? Do we need to take more of a robust stance?' I would say that providing the officer is performing in that sort of level and identifying problems, you know, and coming up with action plans round it and implementing them and seeing the end result and conclusion of it, then that's a good way of measuring it. It isn't done in an official way, but you know when a community officer is good...' Community Sergeant (Abanoch, 20/01/13)

As you move up the ranks, however, performance becomes more spatially generalised but also more outcome focused. As the Chief Superintendent highlighted when I interviewed him, he is constantly focused on targets and will hold section Inspectors to account should they fail to meet targets:

'... so in relation to targets, and that is the proactive bit and the bit you will find me pushing and I push pretty heavily. And the cop on the street maybe isn't aware of that because what I do is I sit at a performance meeting and I will say 'right here are the figures, what are we doing to challenge this'...what are we doing about the performance here? [Gets the performance sheet out] So I will have the Inspector say...I will say 'you have had a 10% fall in detection this month, what you doing about it?' God [feigns shock] she's had a rise in vandalism – it has crept up from 43 to 57

vandalisms.....so that is significant. So I will hold her to account and be say 'what you doing about that, and what you doing about early interventions'
Chief Superintendent (Abanoch and Crian, 07/02/13)

Performance therefore becomes a key concern of those higher up the policing hierarchy and there is no doubt, particularly under Police Scotland, that the competent officer is the one that manages to balance performance and partnership working (Christie, 2011; Fyfe, 2014; Mackenzie and Henry, 2009). Measuring the competence of community policing is challenging (Mackenzie and Henry, 2009), even more so in rural locations, where, as has already been described, discretionary decisions are taken in relation to ASB regularly:

'They have to have a handle on what is happening in their area, so if for instance we were having a spate of problems...I would say that providing the officer is performing in that sort of level and identifying problems, you know, and coming up with action plans alongside the community...'
Interview Community Sergeant, (Abanoch, 20/01/13)

The community therefore have a role in defining whether an officer is competent and the norms for which their competence and performance is judged against. This contrasts from Herbert's reading of competency, a reading which focuses more on colleagues being able to trust the competency of an officer in dangerous situations.

The final of Herbert's (1997) subjective normative orders relates to safety. He argues that a sense of safety defines the way that all officers respond to crime and control territory in Los Angeles. This is not something which was prominent in this study, with rural locations and contexts generally being some of the safest to police. Thus, although Herbert's (1997) normative orders are useful for beginning to unpack the way that the police respond to the challenges of ASB in rural Scotland, there are a number of clear limitations to his thesis. As this section has illustrated, his subjective normative orders fit less clearly in the rural context than the objective orders of law and bureaucratic ordering.

Although Herbert's work focuses on policing in a specific place, he focuses much less on the spatiality of policing and the differences between the micro-geographies and the way policing is seen and delivered. In Los Angeles, the evidence Herbert (1997) presents suggests that the policing response is enforcement-led, whereas evidence from this project suggests that in Scotland the policing response is reliant upon negotiated interactions with the community.

As Loftus (2010: 2) notes, the ‘broad shift towards community policing which requires officers to become embedded within the communities they are charged with serving’ means that some of the traditional police officer characteristics highlighted by Herbert (1997) and others (Banton, 1964; Punch, 1979; Reiner, 2010; Skolnick, 1966) require revisiting. As the subjective orders shape the way that the police control territoriality, it is important to examine in what ways territoriality is shaped differently in rural Scotland. As Henry and McAra (2012) highlight, negotiated order is temporally and spatially specific. The challenges related to policing the rural are summed up by Yarwood and Mawby (2011: 218), who note that

‘In many cases, those policing the countryside face a difficult task: one that must balance efficiency against community interaction; local need against national policy; fairness with local sensitivity; and, above all, trying to achieve these over often vast areas with limited resources...’

The micro geographies and local spatial context therefore are important elements for understanding the specific policing responses to ASB in rural Scotland - something that Herbert’s work tends to downplay. As this chapter has already explored, discretion and the interaction of the community with the police appears to play more important roles in structuring the police response to ASB than Herbert’s normative orders. Partnership and multiagency working is the final area which appears to play a key role in the way that the police respond to ASB in rural Scotland, something which Herbert’s (1997) work does not examine in the context of Los Angeles.

9.7 The police response to ASB in rural Scotland: The importance of partnership working

A key element in the policing response to ASB in rural Scotland relates to the role that partnerships play in the responses of rural police officers to ASB. As chapter one highlighted, the Scottish context for the police response to ASB inevitably involves partnership working. In contrast to earlier work which argued that the pragmatism of police officers tended to hinder partnerships, O’Neill & McCarthy (2012) argue that the pragmatic nature of police officer culture helps partnerships to flourish. This partnership orientated mind-set within the police is something which the Scottish Government have sought to embed in their response to ASB, with the strategy document for ASB putting partnership working at the heart of the way that the police respond to ASB. In particular, it sought to encourage interventions that are partnership focused and bring youth projects and activities more firmly within

community planning and safety partnerships. Indeed, the P.I.E.R approach aims to encapsulate ‘the holistic nature of these interventions, ensuring that partners did not take a one-dimensional approach which focused solely upon enforcement action and the use of legal measures’ (Scottish Government, 2009: 7). This marks a significant diversion from the priorities in England and Wales in relation to ASB policy, where despite the rhetoric around partnership working, enforcement remains a priority for dealing with ASB (Burney, 2006; May, 2010).

In this Scottish Government approach for preventing ASB, they make it clear that partnership working lies at the heart of their strategy, with the Safer Communities Awards, the Government awards projects which focus on ‘promoting safer, stronger and resilient communities in Scotland...by [being] based on co-operation between partners’ (Scottish Government, 2010b: 56). Indeed, the Campbell Christie Review of the Delivery of Public Services, identified partnership working as being crucial in the delivery of local authority services (Christie, 2011). While conducting fieldwork with the police, it was clear that partnership working structures much of the police response to ASB in rural Scotland. The Repeat Caller Initiative, in particular, was highlighted as *‘having partnership working at its core...in structuring our response to ASB’* (Sergeant, Abanoch, 20/01/13). The Repeat Caller Initiative is a key part of the police force’s response to ASB. Launched in the wake of the Fiona Pilkington case, it was introduced as a way of improving the support to vulnerable people who require the police. There are thresholds set by senior officers and their council and housing association partners, which means that when a certain volume of calls is breached by an individual relating to ASB, then that ‘repeat caller’ is assigned a community officer and supported more intensively within the community. To get ‘repeat caller’ status, there usually have to be additional factors, for instance, an identified vulnerability, before an individual would be added to the repeat caller list. Reflecting on Figure 2.1, the majority of repeat callers are the victims of forms of personal and/or public ASB. In conjunction with partnership agencies, the community officer is responsible for monitoring and ‘taking ownership’ of these cases. It is a partnership service, where despite the police being the lead agency, other local authority services are also involved with follow-up and case review. The community Sergeant is responsible for overseeing and periodically reviewing the repeat callers on the list. In consultation with the community police officer, the

Inspector and partnership agencies decide whether cases should be closed and/or if an escalation is required. There are regular meetings with partnership agencies and senior police officers to discuss options that can be introduced to protect the complainant.

The spatiality and context of the local authority in which Abanoch and Crian are situated plays an important part in structuring the way that the police interact with local partnership agencies in responding to ASB. As a relatively small local authority, many of the individuals working within the partnership arena have worked together for years, live, and socialise with members of other agencies:

‘I’ve worked for the council for nearly twenty years, ken, in a variety of roles. I know most of the others in different capacities. But a small region like this means you inevitable ken most of those at partnership meetings...it means we can help the police and they can help us’ Jim (Community Capacity Builder, Crian)

Thus the relatively small number of staff working in community safety allows partnerships to be built out of a local knowledge, a close proximity and familiar structures and experience in rural locations (Yarwood, 2011; Yarwood, 2007a). This is what Berry et al., (2011) acknowledge as the perfect structure for a partnership, something which is rarely achieved. Yet they also highlight the opportunities that exist for partnership working in locations where there are close police-community relations. Thus, although ‘partnerships’ in community policing discourses explicitly exclude some community members (see Herbert, 2006; Mitchell et al., 2013 for more detail), it is important to acknowledge that they form a key part of the policing response to ASB in rural Scotland. This combined with community-police relationships described in chapter eight and earlier in this chapter, means that policing territorial responses to ASB in Abanoch and Crian are negotiated in a different way to that highlighted by Herbert (1997). As Henry (2009) and the National Audit Office (2009) note, beyond any legislative process, the nature, size and maturity of the partnership have a central role to play in determining whether partnership working is maximised or not. In Crian and Abanoch, the mature nature, relatively small numbers of people involved and the close community mean that partnership working serves as a central tenet of the policing response to ASB in the case study locations.

The police response to ASB in these case studies is fundamentally embedded in the context of local partnership working. This view is reinforced by the Chief Superintendent, who, as the most senior officer in charge of the area where Abanoch and Crian are situated, is wholeheartedly supportive of the partnership working narrative:

'The police, well we come along and they move the young people along and it stops. But if it hits a trigger point, we will go along and try and get a more robust intervention on the go. But ultimately, it isn't about us, it is about us and our partners – we are only one part of the larger puzzle. There is some great diversionary stuff on the go [...] ASB levels have dropped lots, but it isn't about us [the police]. We always claim a legacy success and I do – I claim the massive reductions at police boards in relation to ASB and vandalism – but it is the partnerships that do that. And by partnerships, I don't mean us and the council. I mean us and the voluntary agencies, it is the people who run the diversionary projects and stuff [...] the places that provide diversions...' Chief Superintendent (Abanoch and Crian, 07/02/13)

Thus, partnership working lies at the heart of the senior management of the police force and this filters down to the lower ranks, where partnership working is a key way that the police respond to ASB. Herbert's (1997) work does not account for the central role that partnerships play in structuring the territorial policing response to ASB in rural Scotland. In a sense, the Chief Superintendent is arguing that it would be impossible for him and his officers to respond to ASB effectively without partnership working.

As chapter eight highlighted, there has been an injection of funding into the Crian area due to the higher levels of socio-economic deprivation. Partnership working therefore seemed to be even more of a core part of the police response to ASB in this village. Despite the local community officer not being able to attend the youth club in Crian due to his part-time working commitments, the neighbouring community officer spent a considerable part of her week attending partnership meetings and engaging with youth clubs:

'Partnerships [...] um, what can I say. I spend a great deal of time attending meetings, like partnership ones. Which are normally useful. For me though, the most useful are the close partnerships I have created with the youth clubs here' Field diary, Crian, 14/12/12

The local scale partnership arena in Crian therefore appeared to be more developed; in part, this was because of Crian's close proximity to a neighbouring

larger town. In Abanoch, the community officer sat on a partnership team which took into account a number of other communities. The primary partnerships that the community police officers are involved in tend to operate between the micro and meso-scales, at a higher level than the village locality, but below local authority level. The policy context and the rural context combine to make partnership working a core part of the police response to ASB in Abanoch and Crian. Thus, partnership working lies at the heart of the senior management of the police force and this filters down to the lower ranks.

It is also important to highlight that *the police* response to ASB in rural Scotland is frequently a *policing* response, where the police have combined with other agencies to respond to ASB. As the governmentality agenda highlights, this partnership working extends beyond these 'traditional' partners to include citizens response to ASB (Crawford, 1997). The response of the police to ASB in rural Scotland therefore relies on discretion, negotiated order maintenance, community interaction and partnership working. It is important to note that I am not arguing that these are not also important in the policing response to ASB in urban locations, but rather that they form the central part of the policing response in rural locations. These features mean that the rural context provides a distinctive policing arena whereby a distinctive policing typology is required.

9.8 Conclusion: Towards rural policing

The police response to ASB in rural communities can be complex and challenging. Herbert's work on the objective normative orders is useful for understanding aspects of these challenges, particularly the way that the law (and therefore discretion) and bureaucratic ordering structure the police response. His subjective orders, adventure/machismo, safety, morality and competence, are to varying degrees helpful for understanding the police response to ASB in rural Scotland. Yet, this chapter argues that discretion, community-police relationships, situated community knowledge and partnership working are more important than the individual officer's characteristics for influencing and impacting upon the police response to ASB. The individual officer clearly has a role in successfully forming these relationships, but rural policing beats require an understanding from the section Inspectors about the importance of these softer measures of policing response to ASB. Section Inspectors

offer the strategic oversight and bureaucratic decision making which frames the community officer response to ASB.

The context of Abanoch and Crian is important once again, with the officer in Abanoch facing different and distinct challenges to do with the degree of rurality of the place, whilst the officers responding to ASB in Crian frequently face more challenging forms of ASB. Using the policing of ASB as a lens, this chapter argues that the rural is a distinct policing context which requires a better understanding of ‘the spatialities, moralities and powers of policing’ (Yarwood, 2007b: 460). This can only be done by understanding the rural as a nuanced landscape in which different locales require different police responses. Discretionary practices, police-community interactions and partnership working form the basis for rural policing, in a more central way than appears to happen in urban contexts. Indeed, existing, largely urban typologies of the way that the police operate have been shown to only partially describe the police response to ASB in rural Scotland, suggesting that the rural context influences policing responses in a fundamental way. Understanding the interplay between representations of the rural, the rural locality and the everyday lives of those in rural locations (Halfacree, 2006) becomes of central importance for the police in structuring their response to ASB. This contextualised understanding of policing, where the local setting is important for inferring broader structural actions, has been largely missing from the recent broader policing literature (see Banton (1964); Cain (1968) and Holdaway (1983) for previous discussions).

As chapter six argues, ASB needs to be considered as ASB in rural areas as opposed to rural ASB. Yet, based on the evidence of the police response to ASB in this chapter, there is a case that the police response in rural communities should be considered as ‘rural policing’ rather than simply ‘policing in rural areas’. Rural discourses have remained largely absent from the landscape of rural policing, something this chapter goes some way to addressing. The rural is a distinctive environment within which to police, something that national policy largely neglects, with policing in the rural commonly being considered as an appendage of urban policing more generally. Moving towards theorising ‘rural policing’ as something distinct, where there are different challenges, opportunities and ways to respond to ASB and crime would help rescale policy development. Understanding the rural as a nuanced and complex environment that contains distinctive geographical and

resourcing challenges and requires context specific responses to ASB, would help begin to (re)conceptualise the police response to ASB in rural Scotland as rural policing rather than policing in rural area.

10 Discussion and conclusions

This thesis has explored the nature and impact of, and responses to, ASB in two case studies in rural Scotland. This thesis examined ASB at the local scale, emphasising the importance of the rural context of Abanoch and Crian for understanding the ways that ASB is enacted, impacts and is responded to in rural Scotland. The research questions, outlined in chapter three provide the structure for discussion and conclusion in this chapter. They have been carefully crafted to allow ASB to be examined and conceptualised in a distinct way. The spatiality and temporality of ASB allows for a distinctive geographic insight into its affects at a local scale. Additionally, with 94% of Scotland defined as ‘rural’, it is important to understand what behaviours may constitute ASB in rural Scotland, the impact that this can have on rural communities and the ways that statutory and non-statutory bodies can better respond to ASB. This chapter reflects on the key issues to emerge from this research and highlights the contributions made to existing literatures and concludes with suggestions for future research direction and consideration of the research questions in light of the findings.

10.1 Understanding ASB in rural areas

The case study locations of Abanoch and Crian were selected primarily because they illustrate different types of rural communities. Abanoch is remote rural, has little visible deprivation and has a large tourist trade. Crian, on the other hand, is classed as accessibly rural, with higher incidence of crime and higher incidence of multiple deprivation (Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics, 2013). These community variations affect the forms of ASB that were reported by those living in Abanoch and Crian. The community context in which ASB occurs is therefore important for understanding both the nature and impact of ASB, with ASB in Abanoch typically at the less serious end of the scale than that found in Crian.

Figure 2.1 combines two different ways of conceptualising the nature of ASB. Defining ASB as a set of typologies has been one of the most common ways of understanding what types of ASB should and should not be considered ASB. Thus applying the typologies of ASB developed in urban contexts to rural Scotland highlights some important differences between the nature of ASB experienced in Crian and Abanoch, with ‘interpersonal and malicious’ ASB being most typical in

Crian and 'environmental acts' being most typical in Abanoch. Figure 2.1 brought together these more common ways of conceptualising ASB with Innes & Weston's (2010) work on harm. Existing work on the nature of ASB tends to underplay the importance of theoretical input and the importance of community context. In addition, the typologies de-couple the nature of ASB from the impact of ASB on the communities of Abanoch and Crian, something which this thesis argues against. Innes and Weston's work, in contrast engages with the impact of ASB on communities, but deliberately does not engage with types of behaviour associated with the harms they identify. Figure 2.1 is therefore an important first step in bringing together these complimentary understandings of ASB, to create an understanding of ASB which takes into account both the nature of the ASB and the impact that the ASB has on the locality in which it occurs.

Having identified the need for intertwining the nature of ASB with the impact that the ASB causes on individuals and communities, the community context becomes a central narrative for understanding the spatial and temporal conditions for identifying when behaviour is or is not ASB. The rural context is therefore an overarching narrative within this thesis, linking together the three research questions.

In relation to the nature and impact of ASB, the community context is important because it helps explain the forms of ASB experienced in both communities. Overall, the types of behaviour considered problematic in Abanoch and Crian tended to be at the lower end of the ASB scale. Behaviour, such as drug dealing, prostitution and cars being burnt out, were not identified as problematic by either the residents or the community police officers in Abanoch and Crian, yet they are forms of serious ASB identified by the Home Office (Home Office, 2004b). Thus, ASB in Abanoch and Crian, it could be argued, features a narrower band of low-level ASB that, nonetheless, causes significant distress within the community.

There are also unique understandings of ASB which reflect particular tensions within Abanoch and Crian which are unaccounted for elsewhere in the urban literature. In Abanoch, for example, a number of people expressed the opinion that second homeowners were anti-social for increasing rent in the village and drawing on powerful networks of friends and colleagues to sway local decision making to fulfil visions of the rural idyll, which are not always analogous to the best interests of the

Abanoch community. The young people in Abanoch also noted that ASB to them was much more akin to traditional non-politicised versions of ASB, whereby ASB was not linked to behaviour, but rather to a personality type.

Perception is therefore also an important factor in identifying the types of behaviour that are anti-social or not. The rural context is important here, because perception is linked to the norms of the villages, with the rural idyll being a more dominant representation in Abanoch than Crian. Yet, age was an important perception linking ASB to young people in both Abanoch and Crian, with this thesis adding to the work by Brown (2013) and Hughes (2011) in highlighting the fact that young people are more likely to be the victim of ASB than be the ones perpetrating it. The rural locality plays an important part here, however, with the spatial scale of rural locations meaning that young people are often known to members of the community. The cross generational relationships that this fostered, particularly in Abanoch, appeared to lessen the emotional impact of ASB amongst some of the older participants. Instead of seeing the young hanging about in the square as a threat, through the work of the local youth club, which was very mindful about developing these relationships, the elderly within the community knew a number of the young people by name and this gave them a feeling of safety and security. The relationality that a rural locale can foster in certain circumstances is therefore an important element of ASB in rural locations that is unaccounted for in the urban ASB literature. Furthermore, young people, as McIntosh (2008) notes, occupy a distinctive position of both being seen as a group who are particularly vulnerable to the effects of ASB and a group which are responsible for being anti-social. Yet, the rural context in both locations meant that many of the young people were known by other community members.

It is not only the community context that is important, but also the context of the everyday lives of those in rural communities. Individual attributes, such as age impact on the way that ASB is perceived. The role of gender, in particular, has not been given much attention in the governmentality thesis, yet, the media frequently portray the typical 'anti-social welfare recipient' as a single mother who cannot control her children. This was a viewpoint that a number of participants also voiced, who highlighted that the lack of male role models contributed to ASB. Frequently this was a view given by participants who were married and illustrates a degree of

‘othering’, whereby those causing the problems are the children of single mothers in the community.

The perception, particularly in Abanoch, of an idyllic rural, tourist community was significant for understanding the context and perception of whether behaviour is or is not considered to be anti-social or not. This situated knowledge was different in Abanoch and Crian, with community members in Abanoch acknowledging the advantage of knowing those primarily responsible for the ASB. The lived experience of ASB in both communities therefore varies, with those in Abanoch eliciting a frustrated and angry emotional primary response, whereas in Crian in addition to being frustrated and angry, residents discussed being frightened by the perpetrators of ASB. The culprit, in many cases in Abanoch, was not a faceless other, but a neighbour's grandson or someone who lived over the back. In contrast, in Crian, because of the rural locality and representations of those committing the ASB, there was a fear associated with those most commonly linked to ASB, even though the participants often knew them by name. Knowing the individuals perpetrators of ASB created a sense of fear associated with the notoriety of the family, and consequently, an attitude that community members would not be able to do anything about the ASB.

Interestingly, and in contrast to much of the existing urban literature on ASB, respondents in rural Scotland did not discuss the causes of ASB uniquely in relation to young people. In reality, a range of ASB was identified by participants, the most common forms of which related to ASB that was being committed by individuals that were not young people. For example, dog dirt and neighbourhood noise were identified as being at the root of a large part of the ASB in Abanoch and Crian, ASB which is primarily committed by adults. In addition, the young people in Abanoch made the interesting point that, if by hanging about in the square it is claimed their behaviour is anti-social, then the elderly who mull about in the square in Abanoch in the summer should also be treated as anti-social. This illustrates the problems associated with defining ASB through a series of behaviours without the local scale context; the definition of ASB is broad and relies on judgement, perception, context and the broader structural discourse relating to what is and is not considered acceptable behaviour for given spatial locale.

10.2 The importance of scale and context in understanding ASB in rural areas

In a similar manner to the common types of behaviour identified as anti-social, the primary causes of ASB in Abanoch and Crian were analogous to urban causes, but again, the rural context adds important local scale dimensions to the debate. Thus, while alcohol forms part of the broader narrative about causes of ASB nationally, ASB associated with alcohol use operates at a local scale in Crian and Abanoch. In Abanoch, the two pubs responsible for most of the ASB associated with alcohol misuse, mainly drunk and rowdy behaviour and noise are located in the village centre. Yet the small physical size of rural localities means that many in the village are affected by the relatively limited ASB associated with these pubs. Whilst, in Crian, the young tend to go to a nearby town to drink and therefore the associated ASB tends to be displaced there. Similarly, discourses of the deprived rural, where there are limited services for young people, means that disengagement and boredom forms a part of the broader narrative relating to the causes of ASB (Gilling, 2011). In contrast, in urban environments, disengagement tends to refer to truancy and a lack of opportunity (Millie, 2009).

Although the nature and impact of ASB in rural Scotland have a distinct flavour (indeed some examples, such as wild camping are uniquely rural), the majority of ASB identified by participants in Abanoch and Crian are similar to those identified in urban studies of ASB. Most types of ASB therefore would not be considered 'rural ASB', but rather ASB in rural areas. Nevertheless, the context of the rural case study locations and the lack of other ASB mean that apparent low level, common forms of ASB can have a greater impact in rural locations than the same forms of ASB in urban locations.

ASB affects different communities in different ways. Understanding ASB at the everyday scale requires the context of individual communities to be taken into consideration. This thesis collected data at the local scale, and therefore focused on the impact of ASB on the everyday lived experience of those living in Abanoch and Crian. Bringing together the typologies and harm in Figure 2.1 allows ASB to be examined at this local scale. By differentiating between the number of people harmed by a particular incident and the amount of harm done to each of them, ASB conceptualised in this way is helpful for understanding how ASB impacts on rural

populations (Innes and Weston, 2010). Halfacree's (2006) model helps theorise ASB in rural space by arguing that rural space is made up of the rural locality, representations of the rural and the lives of those living in rural space and allows for the complex weaving of power relations, social constructions and discursive practices to be analysed (Mawby and Yarwood, 2011).

Combining the insights gained from Halfacree's interpretation of rural space with Innes and Weston's analysis of ASB through harms allows for a detailed analysis of the impact of ASB in Crian and Abanoch. In particular, it allows the emotional and embodied impacts to be explored in a more nuanced way. As has already been identified, the perception of the individual is important for understanding the lives of the rural, however considering the way that rural space represented and experienced in Abanoch and Crian allows the community context to be examined in relation to the dominant forms of ASB.

Representations of the rural and the rural locality are an important part of Halfacree's diagram and they help aid the understanding of the community context of ASB in both Abanoch and Crian. In both communities, an insider/outsider narrative emerged which was linked to different forms of ASB. Abanoch, as noted in chapter three, is a village that has a rural idyll representation and relies on a tourist trade. Nevertheless, there is a tension between the types of tourists being attracted to the village. Stag and hen parties are enticed by the outdoor adventure activities on offer, yet they are also blamed for much of the weekend ASB in the night-time economy in Abanoch. Furthermore, the idyllic image of Abanoch that has attracted many of the second homeowners is, in their eyes, irreconcilable with stag and hen parties. There is a prominent 'anti-stag and hen party' group who are vociferous in their opposition to the local hostel and rafting companies attracting these tourists into the village. Many of the businesses in the village are reliant on the 'adventure pound', however, and welcome the cash that they bring to the village. There is therefore a complex and uneasy tension regarding which tourists are welcome in Abanoch and which are seen as not living up to the representations of the rural locality, yet also bring in a large amount of money to the village.

In contrast, the 'outsiders' that were mentioned by participants in Crian were migrant workers, predominantly from eastern Europe. The representation of the rural in

Crian is more closely aligned to its productivist past and consequently agriculture and agricultural processing remain significant economic drivers in the village. The impact of the seasonal migration on the village, whilst seen as a necessary part of village life, also leads to tensions. Whilst most participants were positive about the work ethic of eastern Europeans, a distinction was made between those who ‘fit in’ and those who do not follow or understand the perceived norms of the village. It is therefore important to understand the rural as a non-uniform space, impacted by the representations, the rural locality and the everyday lives of those living there. This thesis expands the current urban ASB literature by examining the impact of ASB on the everyday lives of those in rural communities.

The first two research questions are therefore inextricably linked to each other with the nature of ASB in rural Scotland being closely conceived alongside the impact that ASB has on those living in rural locations. The perception of whether an action is or is not ASB is linked to the individual characteristics of both the complainant and the perpetrator. This impacts on whether or not an action is or is not considered ASB. As this section has highlighted therefore, the scale and context of analysis allows for the variations between the communities of Abanoch and Crian to be analysed. It therefore becomes important to understand the nuances of rural communities in order to examine the ways that the community, the local authority and the police can respond to ASB effectively.

10.3 Responding to ASB in rural Scotland: Space, scale and context

There are four groups identified in this thesis who respond to ASB in rural Scotland – youth workers, community members and groups, the police and the local authority. Youth workers play a key role in the response to ASB (Millie, 2008). They play an important role in both Abanoch and Crian by identifying those most at risk from committing ASB. They support those young people both at risk of being victims of ASB and those at risk of committing ASB. There were some interesting differences between Abanoch and Crian in the way that the youth workers identified and responded to ASB, with Abanoch being a mixture of third sector and local authority and youth set-up in Crian being almost exclusively local authority run.

The rural context plays a key part of the youth work response to ASB. The small spatial scale of the villages allows the youth workers that work within Abanoch and

Crian to know most of the young people by name. In addition, they know the geography and temporality of where young people tend to hang out within the villages. This is helpful for identifying the young people that most require their input and having a working knowledge of the pertinent problems in the case study locations. In Abanoch, the local youth workers worked in complimentary ways to ensure their respective youth clubs operated on different days and offered the young people complimentary services. In Crian, there was one main youth club which coordinated the main youth work response to ASB. There were variations between the way that the youth clubs operated, with the youth club in Abanoch appearing to have a clear and structured route of providing youth work intervention. In Crian, the identification of those at risk appeared to happen in a more casual manner.

In both communities, the youth clubs provide a key response mechanism to ASB. Identifying the times that ASB is most likely to occur in Abanoch and Crian and creating diversionary strategies and activities to coincide is an important approach of the youth work response. Differential funding set-ups mean that the youth clubs in Abanoch appear to be more responsive to the weather and immediate needs, whereas in Crian, the local authority require health and safety forms to be completed six-weeks ahead of any planned activity occurring. This has implications for how many young people attend the youth clubs in Crian on hot summer days, because the unpredictability of the weather means that barbeques and outdoor activities cannot be predicted six weeks ahead of time. There are therefore structural differences in the way that the youth groups operate, both because of the funding streams, and because of the individuals involved in running the youth clubs.

Gaining the respect and trust of those living in Abanoch and Crian is a key aspect of the role of a youth worker, engaging with not only the young people, but also the community in which the youth club is situated. There are fewer people working in youth work, council and policing roles in rural locations, therefore more so than in urban communities, the relationships that exist between these different agencies and individuals play an important role in the response to ASB. In both communities, there were interesting dimensions relating to the relationships between youth workers and the police. In Abanoch, tensions existed between the community police officer and the youth worker. This operated at a professional practical level, with the police being criticised for a lack of engagement with young people. Additionally,

there were tensions between the professional cultures of both organisations, with youth workers arguing that the police saw them as ‘babysitters’, whilst the community officer in Abanoch openly admits to finding it hard to understand the way that youth workers operate. In Crian, the lack of a full time officer meant that the engagement between the police officer and youth workers lacked the depth found in other locales.

This is not a uniquely rural issue, there are tensions between the youth work profession and the police in various urban locations. However, in remote rural locations such as Abanoch, where there is only one community officer, these individual relationships are brought into sharp focus and form the cornerstone of the partnership working arena in relation to ASB. The rural context in this case can be beneficial to the youth worker; it allows them to get to know young people in the community and work with them at an individual level and, when relationships are good, work closely with partnership organisations. However, it can also be problematic, when fewer police officers and local authority workers mean that personal relationships form a central part of the responses to ASB in rural locations.

Active citizenship and the responsabilization of citizens within the community forms an important part of the community response to ASB (Donnermeyer and DeKeseredy, 2014; Garland, 2001, 1996). Reflecting on Halfacree's (2006) work is helpful for examining the role that community change groups play in actively seeking trying to improve the villages by responding to ASB in an active manner. In many cases, the individuals on the community change organisations are seeking to pursue particular versions of ‘the rural’, typified by Donnermeyer & DeKeseredy (2014) as the myth that rural communities bring close, idyllic relationships through the collective efficacy of rural. Although targeting ASB was not the primary remit of any of the community change organisations, both villages had groups which aimed to reduce what they perceived to be ASB. Tackling ASB formed more of a part of some groups than others did, with situational preventative measures being the common way that these groups prevent ASB. Again, the differences in community context meant that there are differences in the motives between the community change groups in Abanoch and Crian. Groups in Abanoch tend to reflect the rural idyll mind-set, with groups seeking to reduce ASB which is not, in their view, synonymous with idyllic rural living.

In Crian, however, the main community change groups sought to change the village in ways that are more transformational. The village itself does not have the same idyllic representations as Abanoch, and therefore the main group, Forward Crian, were involved with trying to improve the social and situational environment in the village. The higher deprivation in Crian, combined with the village lacking the rural idyll narratives so apparent in Abanoch, means that the community change groups in the village were trying to improve the fundamental social fabric of the village rather than protect an idealised representation of the rural.

Despite community change groups in both villages having good intentions, as Woods (2006) notes, these groups, whilst full of demographic promise, lack the democratic representation of the community. In both communities, those most actively involved had previously had or were currently in professional careers and therefore had powerful networks of friends to draw upon for advice and help. Others in the community voiced the opinion in both locations that these groups do not represent the people that need the support and are ‘out of touch’ with what is really happening in Abanoch and Crian. This thesis argues that whilst the groups may lack broader community representation, the nature of small rural community’s mean that those in these groups do actively seek ways to engage with those in the community who suffer from greater levels of deprivation and ASB. This was particularly true in Crian, where the community café provides a focal point for the elderly in the village to meet and they have a number of volunteers who are vulnerable. The community context therefore importantly links to differences between the community change groups in Crian and Abanoch.

Varying contexts are also apparent in the way that the police respond to ASB in rural Scotland. This thesis set out to explore the main ways that the police try to respond to ASB in rural communities in Scotland and to analyse the degree to which urban ASB prevention methods are used in the context of rural Scotland. There is a large urban policing literature which explores the cultural and structural conditions which influence and impact on the way that the police control territory, with Herbert’s (1997) work noting that the normative orders of law, bureaucratic ordering, adventure/machismo, morality, safety and competence directly structure the ways that the police in Los Angeles control territory. This study concludes that whilst this is a useful way for thinking about the ways that the police structure their response to

ASB, ultimately discretion, police-community interactions and partnership working are more important for structuring the police response to ASB.

This thesis therefore argues that Herbert's (1997) normative orders tend to underplay the context in which policing occurs and underplay the role that order maintenance rather than enforcement plays in policing rural locations. Instead, rural officers rely on their discretion when responding to ASB alongside their relationship to the community that they police, with partnership working and situated knowledges structuring their response. Evidence suggests that these priorities increasingly structure policing in some urban locations (O'Neill and McCarthy, 2014), however, they tend to dominate the policing response to ASB in rural Scotland. The lack of police back-up nearby and the fact that rural ASB tends to be at the lesser end of seriousness, means discretion becomes a key tactic in the policing response to ASB in rural Scotland. There has been a general policing shift, from an enforcement driven agenda towards one of negotiated order maintenance, which means that the officers are required to communicate with the communities that they are charged with serving (Loftus, 2010).

The degree of rurality appears to impact on the level of discretion an officer can take, where the community officer in Abanoch used discretion frequently when dealing with ASB in the village, the officers in Crian appeared to do so less readily. This was in part due to the lack of a dedicated community officer in Crian and therefore response officers were often called to incidents of ASB in the village. Response officers, overall, know less about the circumstances of the individuals within communities because they respond to incidents across a number of beat areas. Policing literature underplays the importance of these micro-geographies, frequently treating the rural policing responses as a panacea. Yet, this study highlights how space, place and organisational structure all impact on the policing response to ASB in rural Scotland. Ultimately, therefore, this study recommends that rural policing should be considered as a distinct skill which, in a similar way to neighbourhood policing, requires a specific understanding of the context of the rural locale. It therefore should be considered not as an addition to other forms of policing, or as policing in rural areas, but as rural policing.

A final important group of people who respond to ASB in rural Scotland are the local authority. This research suggests that although the police and the local authority have a range of powers under the ASB legislation, the local authority do not use these strategies as often in rural locations. The anti-social investigations team, for instance, tend to respond to ASB in urban locations within the local authority, but are rarely called to or attend incidents in rural locations. Moreover, on attendance, they tend to favour negotiating with the noisy residents and trying to mediate the situation rather than going down the punitive route. There are, at the time of writing, no outstanding ASBOs in the local authority area, illustrating that even when in place, sovereign state strategies (Garland, 1996) are not always utilised in certain contexts.

In terms of adaptive strategies perspectives, non-state actors are encouraged to collaborate and create local responses to ASB through community change groups and 'responsibilize' themselves by modifying behaviour. This research argues that local community change groups are fragmented in their approach to tackling ASB, with the voluntary nature of the networks, combined with the local authority utilising community networks in an uncritical manner, means that local authority-community networks are disjointed across Abanoch and Crian. The local authority are therefore the least prominent of the response mechanisms in rural environments, something which contrasts with literature on urban forms of ASB (see Flint and Nixon (2006), Millie (2009) and Parr and Nixon (2008)).

These three sections have illustrated the multi-faceted, nuanced and complex ways that ASB manifests itself in two communities in rural Scotland. They have argued, broadly, that whilst ASB in rural Scotland should not be considered as an entirely distinct and separate entity, the impact and responses to the ASB that occurs in the case study locations is distinct and different from the response to ASB commonly described in urban locations. Although it is important not to over-state or over-rely on rural imagery, the rural idyll was very much the dominant view amongst the adult participants in this study in Abanoch. As many authors have noted, this is an imagery that needs to be challenged, not least because the young in the community rarely understand the rural in these terms. ASB in Crian tended to have a different nature, impact and response owing in part to the fact that the remote rural nature meant that there are a different set of local-scale challenges and opportunities.

Having identified the ways that the research questions have been answered, the next section summarises the key contributions this thesis makes.

10.4 Key contributions

This thesis set out to explore the nature and impact of, and responses to, ASB in two rural communities. By considering the nature of ASB alongside the impact that it causes communities, ASB at the local scale can be contextualised. Despite finding that ASB in Abanoch and Crian is not dissimilar to ASB found in urban locations, (re)conceptualising ASB to take account of the impact that certain behaviour has on the communities in which it occurs has been shown to be imperative in rural communities. Although generally, the ASB suffered in Abanoch and Crian tended to be located in the parochial, less serious end of the ASB spectrum, by taking account of the rural context, the impact these types of ASB can have on rural communities can be disproportionate to the offence committed. Understanding this has implications for the way that the police, community, youth workers and local authority subsequently structure their response to ASB.

Garland's work is important for understanding the broad, macro-level structural changes that have taken place in relation to crime and disorder in the UK and America. Using the lens of ASB, this study contextualises and explores the ways that Garland's culture of control thesis is operationalised and is exemplified in rural Scotland. Whilst forms of ASB may not be unique to rural environments, the police response to ASB is distinct and engages with the wider responsabilization agenda. There are different pressures and challenges associated with policing rural Scotland, informed by broader structural processes, which makes the policing response to ASB distinct. (Re)conceptualising ASB in this way allows the micro-scale context to link up to macro-scale penological and sociological changes that have occurred in the British criminal justice system.

In terms of wider contributions to geography, this thesis contributes to what is still a relatively marginal research area in geography. Whilst the rural is an area of much scholarly interest, the spatiality of crime, control and policing, particularly in rural communities remains 'conspicuously absent' (Fyfe, 1991: 249). As Yarwood (2007: 447) notes, 'there is still a tendency to focus on the mapping of crime patterns, the fear of crime or the impacts of legislation, rather than the spatial

performance and practice of policing’. This thesis focuses specifically on that, highlighting the ways that rural locales shape the spatial interactions and practices of policing in response to ASB. This area of geographic research, although still in its infancy, has the opportunity to enlighten broader political, social and cultural debates in the wider geographic literatures.

10.5 Implications for policy and practice

A key part of conducting research involves making evidence-based contributions to policy and practice. This research has been undertaken with careful consideration for the ways that the findings could affect policy and practice associated with rural ASB. There are a number of policy recommendations for the police to emerge from this research, particularly around understanding ASB in a more nuanced and context dependent way. Considering the concept of harm and thinking about the localised impact that ASB causes communities would be a helpful way for the police to incorporate an understanding the harm that apparent innocuous forms of ASB can have in particular community settings. By considering rural policing as a separate entity and skilled craft and putting the appropriate training and rewards system in place to encourage and enhance the quality of rural officers, the level of police response and community policing visibility could be improved. This in turn would help empower rural officers to use their discretion appropriately when dealing with ASB and ultimately help encourage those living in rural villages to report incidences of ASB more often than they currently do. Overall, there were reasonable relationships between youth workers and the police. Yet, in both case study locations, they could be improved. In Abanoch, this was related to organisational issues, while in Crian it was related to a lack of overlap between the working hours of the community officer and the times the youth clubs operated. In both locations, closer relationships between the police and youth workers would benefit the work of both sets of people. Although it is important that youth workers maintain the trust of young people, this could help aid informal policing processes and help the youth workers to garner broader information about individuals at the micro scale, village level scale and this could benefit both the police and the youth workers.

The main policy implications are summarised in Table 10.1:

Policy recommendation	Description of policy recommendation
Put the community context at the centre of the police response to ASB	The importance of context when creating a policing response cannot be underestimated. Understanding that rural policing is a distinct skill that requires a specialised and distinct knowledge of rural communities and challenges associated with policing in these locations. The local, micro-scale contexts need to be understood when responding to ASB
Ensure that rural policing is considered as a distinct skill, which is supported and recognised as important by Police Scotland	It is important to recognise the important role that rural police officers play in Police Scotland. Efforts should be made to recognise the important contribution officers in rural beats make. Ensuring that officers are rewarded appropriately for being successful rural police officers would be an important first-step. There should be a move away from notions of rural policing as the 'easy option' where 'real' policing is not done.
Ensure that community officers are supported in developing intense community knowledge	Connected to the first recommendation, it is important that community officers are supported in developing community relationships and networks so that they have an understanding of the local context. This may mean not moving officers on as frequently and supporting some of the attributes of 'softer' policing.
Ensure that supervisors understand the role of the community officers in responding to ASB	It is important that community officers feel enabled to spend extensive time within the community. Focusing solely on key performance indicators may undermine the work of community officers in rural communities. It is important therefore that supervisors understand this and enable community officers to focus on other 'softer' policing initiatives.
Promoting community policing and rewarding success	Community policing is an assumed part of the ability of all officers. There is a lack of systematic training and evidence in being a good community police officer, with no training modules for community officers at Tulliallan police college. Given that it is a central part of the policing strategy in Scotland, this needs to be redressed. The best community officers, see it as a specialism, a craft and something that requires community support, training for the community and the police. Measuring community policing is complicated. It would be useful to introduce a national set of guidelines, identifying what makes a successful community officer and potential ways that an officer could be evaluated. This would not be part of the key performance framework, but rather should be based round practical measures such as those defined by Eck and Rosenbaum (1994) as effectiveness, equity and efficiency. A training module would help provide an evidence base

	for community officers' decision-making and use of discretion.
Training in engaging with young people and the community should be given	A key part of understanding community context is being able to identify issues which are pertinent to particular parts of the community. Engaging with community members and those marginalised from traditional community change groups therefore is important. Part of that involves engaging with young people. There is currently limited training given in this, yet, in order to get beyond tokenistic approaches to engagement, it is important to enhance officer skills. This should be offered annually to counter poor working practices.
Enable officers to develop context specific specialisms	In Abanoch the officer was unable to train and develop a mountaineering specialism because of broader policing resource implications. Yet, this would have provided a beneficial additional resource for this beat. Enabling officers to develop context-specific skills such as this type of specialism would be beneficial to both the police and other voluntary bodies in rural communities.
Community feedback and engagement should be a central part of rural policing practice	There should be a rigorous and well-designed annual collection of community feedback on the police response to ASB in rural communities. This would be broader than the traditional groups that the police engage with and would adhere to the principles of policing legitimacy and trust. It would allow local area commanders to take into account context, assess local policing strategy and develop a more responsive local policing agenda. It would also counteract some of the criticism levelled at Police Scotland.
Efforts should be made to avoid abstracting community officers from their beats	As experience in Crian shows, abstracting community officers is damaging for the development of community relationships. This should be avoided where possible.
Moving away from mechanistic definitions of ASB towards consideration of 'harm' and 'impact' is important	Although classifications remain an important part of the way that ASB is defined, the current obsession of the minutiae of which behaviours should and should not be considered anti-social is problematic for residents in rural locations. Considering behaviour alongside the harm that it causes in the particular rural context in which it occurs will help the police better scale their response accordingly. Operationalising the concepts of ASB on figure 2.1 would begin to enable that to happen.
Enhance the use of police officer discretion in	Discretion is a key tactic for successfully responding to ASB, something which the police officers describe as being learnt from on the job and 'from experience'.

responding to ASB	However, use of discretion appears to vary from officer to officer and is actively encouraged by some Sergeants and not by others. As part of Police Scotland, it would be useful for officers to be given guidance on where and when it would be appropriate to use discretion in response to ASB.
Encourage the reporting of ASB in rural locations	In this study, many of the participants who discussed and described ASB in Abanoch and Crian had not reported it. The police form a central part of the reporting mechanism in relation to ASB and therefore need to encourage residents in both locations to report ASB and consider the harm of the ASB being reported when deciding on the police response. The Repeat Caller Initiative should be continued.
Improving the visibility of rural police officers	Many participants in this study reported a lack of police presence as problematic in rural locations. There is a complex balance to be struck between the visibility of the police in rural locations and awareness amongst the residents that the large, rural locations present a resourcing challenge for the police.
Strengthening youth work-police relationships	In both Abanoch and Crian, the relationships between the police and the youth workers could have been improved. The police were often busy with other priorities or not working when the youth clubs were running, whilst youth workers were often suspicious of the motives of the police. Strengthening these relationships would be a helpful way for the police to engage with young people in rural locations and would strengthen the professional relationships between the police and youth workers.
Strengthening links between ASIT and SCT teams with rural community officers	The role of the local authority in responding to ASB in Abanoch and Crian is notable by its absence. It would be beneficial to strengthen local authority-police links in rural communities and identify ways that the police can support and be supported in responding to ASB effectively.

Table 10.1: Summary of the policy implications for the police

Alongside the policy recommendations above, there are a number of broader observations relating to youth work and local authority policy and practice to emerge from this study.

There are three ways that the youth work setup could be improved. Firstly, for the local authority employed youth workers, removing some of the bureaucracy would improve the range of activities and the planning process for both the youth workers

and the young people. It would also help make the youth work setup more responsive to the needs of the young people, by allowing them to plan activities at much shorter notice. This was most apparent on a hot July day where the youth worker could not go to the park with the young people because of the six week turnaround time for health and safety forms. This is problematic, because in order to engage with young people and offer young people a youth club that they have a degree of control over the planning of activities, there needs to be a degree of opportunity to change plans with little notice

Similarly, a broader reorganisation of the way that funding for youth services is allocated would help projects which rely on local authority financial input. The way that some services are funded was hard to fathom in some cases, and short term project funding makes it hard for youth workers to plan in a long-term fashion. In the case of Abanoch, a lack of funding meant a youth club had to shut for a period of months until further funding was secured. This is something that puts added stress on the youth workers and means that the young people that are engaging with the service are left in limbo. For young people, many of whom already come from chaotic backgrounds, having an organised and structured youth work engagement is important for preventing ASB. It would therefore be beneficial for the local authority to undertake a horizon scanning exercise across the local authority area and map which youth clubs are doing what, both those which are local authority funded and those which have third sector and local authority funding. Currently there is a lack of detail at this scale and some evidence of a lack of joined up thinking across sectors, with, for instance, a youth worker in Crian being unaware of another youth club run by a local church in same the village. Developing a map of all the youth services available in the local authority would mean that partnerships could be improved with improved multi-agency joined up youth work response to ASB.

Finally, whilst conscious that increasing the administrative burden contravenes the point above, it would be beneficial to improve the accountability of youth club workers. By this I mean formalise some of the arrangements so that there was a rationale about what activities were being run and when. This was particularly true in Crian, where a lot of time was spent just 'hanging out'. This was useful to a point, providing young people a safe space to be with their mates, but on occasion, it seemed like an easy get out for youth workers who generally chatted amongst

themselves. There were a number of occasions in both case studies that I turned up expecting the advertised youth club to be running and for unknown reasons it was shut. In addition, on a number of other occasions the youth clubs opened later than advertised and shut at a different time. This was frustrating for me, but it also meant a number of young people who had turned up had either to wait or go home. Providing a consistent and structured time of opening would benefit the young people with more accountability and structure to the activities.

In addition to these general reflections about the youth work set-up in the case studies, the local authority are also responsible for responding to environmental ASB, like dog dirt, and noise complaints which are dealt with through the anti-social investigations team (ASIT) based in a nearby city. This team appeared to very rarely deal with noise complaints in Abanoch or Crian, with most of the participants in this study unaware that they exist and of what they can do. The ASIT team have a number of powers under the Anti-social behaviour (Scotland) act (2004), including being able to record noise levels, give on the spot fines and apply for ASBOs. The spatiality of rural areas and the temporal nature of noise nuisance mean that the complainants of these forms of ASB in rural areas were often reluctant to phone ASIT because it can take upwards of an hour for them to get to Abanoch. Yet in interviews, those who work in the ASIT say that it is still useful if people phone in because it means they can monitor the situation and log the call, even if they do not attend at the time.

It would be beneficial therefore, for the ASIT team to advertise their services and attend community meetings in both Crian and Abanoch and explain what their role is and what they can do to respond to ASB. If more calls were being dealt with by ASIT, this would help reduce the amount of calls regarding noise nuisance going to the police. Additionally, a common complaint in both locations related to the amount of dog dirt. The local authority have dog wardens who are responsible for enforcing issuing fixed penalty tickets if owners do not pick up their dog's mess. It is important that the dog wardens enforce this in rural locations as well as in urban areas.

10.6 Areas for further research

In addition to the policy implications and reflections discussed above, there are a number of areas of future research. The introduction of Police Scotland and the associated budget cuts means that the national police context has changed (Fyfe, 2014) with a once-in-a-generation reorganisation of the police in Scotland. With the introduction of the single police force in Scotland, there are concerns that the local, rural policing context has been diluted by the centralisation of power and control, something which appears to have been partially realised. As Fyfe (2014: 502) notes, there are a range of issues that the introduction of Police Scotland raise in relation to democratic criteria, in particular, equity, service delivery, responsiveness, distribution of power, information, participation and redress.

These issues have been underlined by the introduction of routine armed patrol in parts of rural Scotland and the subsequent criticism by the local MP Douglas Alexander and MSP Graeme Pearson. The lack of awareness of local context came to the fore in July 2014 when armed officers attended a routine row outside McDonalds in Inverness (Candlish, 2014), causing community concern about the seriousness of the incident¹². There have since been two reviews announced into the routine arming of police officers in Scotland. These incidents highlight the problems associated with not policing in a contextually aware manner, something which is compounded by the ongoing concerns that centralising resources in the central belt of Scotland will adversely affect policing in rural Scotland, with a reduction in localised policing, with the associated flavour of rural police forces being lost (Kelly, 2014). As this thesis has demonstrated, the context in which ASB occurs is important and the rural needs to be conceptualised by the police and local authorities as a dynamic landscape that needs locally directed policing and policy. More than ever, with the introduction of the single police force, the police need to be aware of the local context in which they police. It is therefore important that changes under the single police force are monitored, and particularly, that the impact of changes in rural policing are analysed over time. Additionally, with both the independence and ‘better together’ parties pledging more powers to Scotland in the wake of the

¹² This incident led to widespread criticism with the result being that Police Scotland changed its policy in late 2014 relating to the routine arming of officers on patrol.

independence referendum in September, further policy divergence in policing and ASB is likely. This is something which would benefit from further research.

Indeed, the differing ASB policy trajectories in England and Wales compared to Scotland mean that a comparative study across these contexts would be beneficial. The Anti-social Behaviour, Crime and Policing Bill 2013-14 is in its final reading in the House of Lords and is likely to receive Royal Assent later this year. This Bill seeks to simplify the number of ASB powers, but at the same time broaden the definition of ASB further to include anything of 'nuisance or annoyance' This has been heavily critiqued by a number of journalists who state that it will introduce laws which will stop anyone doing almost anything (Monbiot, 2014). The Scottish policy track seems to be different, focusing on prevention and intervention rather than enforcement, a point which is reinforced by the low number of ASBOs in Scotland. It would therefore be interesting to do a comparative study of ASB between rural England and rural Scotland, given the policy differences.

This project has discovered some interesting and distinct practices to ASB in Abanoch and Crian. It would be interesting to repeat this study in deprived remote rural locations and wealthy accessibly rural locations, as defined by the SIMD and six fold-urban rural classifications. While Abanoch is classed as a remote rural location, there are parts of Scotland which are far more remote and it would be interesting to see whether the community and local authority responses differ to that shown in this project. Likewise, it would be interesting to analyse the difference between ASB experienced in a wealthy accessibly rural location. This is one of the main limitations of this study.

As Bryman (2008) notes, all studies and methods have their limitations. Methodologically, I would have liked to have spent longer on active police patrol in both case study locations. Due to the fact that each of the communities was covered by only one community officer and due to police abstractions and the part time working pattern of the officer in Crian, it was difficult to schedule consistent and regular patrol times in both communities. In retrospect, it would also have been useful to have spent some time with young people when they were not in the youth club. Although I did this on occasion when I bumped into them in the village by chance and I had an idea of their geographic understanding of ASB through the maps that they filled in, I

think it would have been interesting to have spent more time ‘hanging out’ with them in spaces that they considered their own in the village. In future studies I would try to differentiate my positionality more clearly from that of the police, many of the young assumed I was a police officer despite spending long periods talking to them in the youth clubs.

A final limitation relates to the use of the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation. Although this was helpful for being able to compare potential case study locations at a national level, there are a number of limitations with using this as a way of defining ‘deprivation’. I therefore think that in future studies I would think about how to define and understand deprivation in different ways. Overall, however, despite these relatively minor limitations, this study has made important findings which progress current understanding of ASB which should help inform future policy and practice.

10.7 Conclusion

Tackling ASB has been a core part of the national Government criminal policy for the past sixteen years. Over that time the emphasis on ASB has shifted, from the introduction of numerous pieces of legislation aimed at tackling specific forms of ASB, towards broader narratives which seek to combine ‘sovereign state’ and ‘adaptive strategies’ to create new forms of control (Garland, 2001). This thesis has argued that in order to understand the nature and impact of ASB and the best responses for tackling it, it is of key importance to understand the context in which ASB occurs. The rural landscape varies, with different problems in different locations requiring different solutions. It is important, however, to acknowledge the fact that there is less ASB in rural areas. This does not negate the need to understand ASB in rural Scotland; with 94% of Scotland defined as ‘rural’ and with ASB still a significant problem for a number of people, it is important that the effects of nature and impact of, and responses to, ASB in rural Scotland are analysed and examined.

Policy discourse in England and Wales suggest that the definition of ASB is set to broaden further under the legislation passing through the House of Lords just now (Home Office, 2012). A reconsideration of the premise of ASB legislation is needed; as this thesis demonstrates, too often it criminalises behaviour that may be challenging, different, unusual or difficult, behaviour which in and of itself is not

anti-social. As Millie (2009) argues, in order to engender a culture of tolerance and respect there needs to be an understanding that some of the moral panic and behaviour currently considered 'anti-social' does not remove one's own security. ASB policy discourse in Scotland has taken a different tact to that in England and Wales, and in many ways, for the better. Joined up, holistic and wrap around partnership working between the police, youth workers, young people, the local authority and the community, although not quite there yet, aims to provide a more constructive way of dealing with identifying and responding to ASB in rural locations in Scotland. There are real opportunities for the stakeholders in rural communities to take the lead in being inventive when it comes to preventing and responding to ASB, something from which many urban communities could learn. Whilst there are forms of persistent and serious ASB that require enforcement options, there is an opportunity in Scotland to progressively continue to develop the prevention, support, integration and partnership working responses to ASB and make the enforcement of ASB legislation the unusual rather than the usual course of action. The introduction of the single police force and routine armed patrol in Scotland underlines the importance of policing to particular contexts. It is important therefore, that a nuanced understanding of the nature and impact of, and responses to, ASB is developed more widely, with analysis of the spaces and places in which ASB occurs. Only by paying close attention to the context and embedded nature of ASB, can types of ASB be identified, the impacts and affects be understood and the appropriate responses developed. This thesis provides an important first-step in this process.

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Appendix 1: Government typology of ASB

In response to the lack of legislative clarity in the initial Anti-social Behaviour Act (2003), the Home Office released a list of behaviours which were deemed anti-social (Home Office, 2004b):

- Litter/Rubbish
- Criminal damage/Vandalism
- Vehicle-related nuisance
- Nuisance behaviour
- Noise
- Rowdy behaviour
- Abandoned vehicles
- Street drinking and begging
- Drug/substance misuse and drug dealing
- Animal-related problems
- Hoax calls
- Prostitution, kerb crawling, sexual acts

Appendix 2: Interview with key members of the community

1. **What does the term anti-social behaviour mean to you?**
 - a. What do you think it is that makes something AS rather than criminal?
 - b. Which of the following do you consider ASB? Why? Litter/Rubbish; Criminal damage/Vandalism; Vehicle-related nuisance; Nuisance behaviour; Noise; Rowdy behaviour; Abandoned vehicles; Street drinking and begging; Drug/substance misuse and drug dealing; Animal-related problems; Hoax calls; Prostitution, kerb crawling, sexual acts
 - c. What would you add to this list in your experience of ASB?
 - d. Do you think this list is a fair representation of ASB in your experience?
2. Living in a rural location [Abanoch/Crian], are there **forms of ASB** that you encounter that you perhaps wouldn't if you lived in an urban setting (Prompt – wild camping, fly tipping)? Why?
3. In your experience do different rural areas suffer varying amounts of ASB?
 - a. How do you begin to measure ASB?
 - b. Are there specific ASB 'hotspots' in your area?
 - c. Do these change/vary depending on days/times?
 - d. Do you think how rural a location is, impacts on the type of ASB experienced by residents?
 - e. Do the types of ASB experienced vary within rural locations (prompt - the bottom of Abanoch from the top of the village)
4. What groups of people do you think are primarily responsible for the ASB in [Abanoch] that you have identified? Why?
 - a. Does this vary between rural locations in your experience?
 - b. In your experience, what degree of ASB in [Abanoch/Crian] is caused by the local population compared with tourists/ visitors?
 - c. What do you think are the main drivers for the types of ASB you have identified in [Abanoch/Crian] (prompt: alcohol, boredom etc.)?
 - d. Does this vary between rural locations? Why?
 - e. Why do you think the drivers you have identified are prevalent in [Abanoch/Crian?] (prompt – pub opening times, alcohol pricing etc.)

Part C – Impact of ASB

This section of the interview will focus on the impact of ASB on rural communities. In particular, I am interested in understanding the **scale** of ASB on rural communities and how you define the term impact.

Impact of Rural ASB

5. Do you have any specific examples of when ASB has impacted detrimentally on Abanoch/Crian?

6. How much of a social impact, for instance you choosing not to use specific spaces, do you think ASB has on the community of [Abanoch/Crian]?
7. Different types of impact? Economic impact?
8. Are there areas within the village that are more prone to suffering from the effects of ASB?
 - a. What affect do you think ASB has on individuals within these community(s) compared to other parts?
9. How do forms of ASB vary in different parts of the village (prompt – do you think residents in different parts of the village suffer different forms of ASB?)
10. In your experience, do you think there is an economic impact of ASB on the community of [Abanoch/]? (prompt – in terms of investment)
11. In your experience, do you think there is a socio-economic dimension to who feels the effects of ASB most?

The final section of questions focuses on the response of the police in rural communities when dealing with rural ASB in [Abanoch/Crian]. In particular, I am interested in hearing about how policing resources are utilised in rural locations and whether informal policing networks are utilised in order to respond to reports of ASB.

Part D - Response of the Police

12. In your experience as a member of the community, how well do you think ASB is tackled by the police?
 - a. What ASB is effectively tackled by police, Which isn't?
 - b. By local authority?
 - c. How would you measure success in relation to policing ASB?
 - d. Impact of community policing on ASB?
 - e. What do you think is the best way of preventing persistent ASB (prompt – ASBOs, social services, dispersal orders etc.)
 - f. Do you think the expectations of the police vary between different communities? In what ways?
 - g. Does the response in [Abanoch/Crian] vary between communities within this town and do you think this relates to socio – economic variation between communities? (prompt – community expectations of policing).
13. To what degree do you think that informal networks can be utilised in combatting ASB in [Abanoch/Crian] (prompt – ASBA neighbourhood watches, community networks)
 - a. Do you think the local authority responds to the specific challenges that rural ASB poses?
 - a. Do you think this is something which can be utilised and mobilised more easily in rural locations such as {Abanoch/Crian} than in urban locations?
 - b. In your experience, do you think these networks vary between places?

- c. What do you think it is that improves these kind of police-community networks? And what are the barriers to these networks forming?
 - d. What are the challenges involved with mobilising local people to help prevent asb?
 - e. Effect of national police force?
14. In terms of moving forward, do you think the PIER (prevention, intervention, enforcement, rehab/reassurance) model works well when policing rural ASB in Abanoch/Crian?
- a. What about utilising more enforcement (asbos etc) methods, which are more widely utilised down south?
 - b. In an ideal world, what more do you think could be done to tackle rural anti-social behaviour?

Do you have any further questions or points to consider and people to speak?

Appendix 3: Adult interview participant information sheet

PhD project: Space, Place and Anti-Social Behaviour in
In Scottish Rural Communities

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INVITATION TO TAKE PART IN A RESEARCH STUDY

You are being asked to take part in a research study which is interested in examining the type and the impact of anti-social behaviour (ASB) in rural communities, along with the response of rural communities to the threat of anti-social behaviour. The lead researcher of the project is Andrew Wooff, while Professor Nick Fyfe and Dr Lorraine van Blerk are supervising it. Details of the University of my contact information are listed above.

PURPOSE OF THE RESEARCH STUDY

The purpose of this project is to gather a variety of information from key people impacted and involved with rural anti-social behaviour. The main research goal is to understand the nature of rural anti-social, as well along with the impact and responses of rural communities to anti-social behaviour. Understanding rural anti-social behaviour is important for developing policies for the future. Indeed, by assessing how different communities and agencies successfully respond to anti-social behaviour, it is hoped that this project may be able to provide meaningful research outputs for the police, local authorities, third sector agencies, young people and the rural communities affected by rural anti-social behaviour. This may benefit those working to combat anti-social behaviour in rural communities.

WHAT WILL THE STUDY INVOLVE?

To get a full picture of rural anti-social behaviour, I am keen to conduct an interview with you. The interview will last about an hour, at a location that is convenient to you and will include questions about the types of anti-social behaviour that occur in rural areas, the impact of rural anti-social behaviour, the response of organisations to rural anti-social behaviour and the ways that rural anti-social behaviour can be tackled. An audio recording will be made of the interview, to enable later transcription and analysis. This will be treated anonymously and confidentially (see next section) and will be used only by me and stored in a locked drawer for the duration of the study (3 years). If you do not agree to the audio recording, then, with your agreement, I will take hand written notes.

ANONYMITY AND CONFIDENTIALITY

All of the data are confidential and will remain anonymous. You will not be identifiable in any of the research outputs - all names will be changed, including the names of organisations involved. Research outputs will include a written thesis, academic papers and policy relevant documents. I will endeavour to provide all participants with a summary of the results following conclusion and write up of the PhD.

TERMINATION OF PARTICIPATION

You may decide to stop being a part of the research study at any time without explanation and without penalty.

RISKS

There are no known risks for you in this study. Your participation in this study is voluntary.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION ABOUT THIS RESEARCH STUDY...

Andrew Wooff will be glad to answer your questions about this study at any time and provide any additional information required.

You may contact him at:

School of the Environment, University of Dundee, Tower Building, Perth Road, Dundee, DD1 4HN

Email: a.j.wooff@dundee.ac.uk

Phone: 01382 384286

The University Research Ethics Committee of the University of Dundee has reviewed and approved this research study.

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Space, place and anti-social behaviour in Scottish rural communities

The purpose of this project is to gather a variety of information from key people impacted and involved with rural anti-social behaviour. The main research goal is to understand the nature of rural anti-social, as well along with the impact and responses of rural communities to anti-social behaviour. Understanding rural anti-social behaviour is important for developing policies for the future. Indeed, by assessing how different communities and agencies successfully respond to anti-social behaviour, it is hoped that this project will be able to provide meaningful research outputs for the police, local authorities, third sector agencies, young people and the rural communities affected by rural anti-social behaviour. This may benefit those working to combat anti-social behaviour in rural communities.

I agree to the audio recording of the interview:

YES NO (Please delete as appropriate)

By signing below you are agreeing that you have read and understood the Participant Information Sheet and that you agree to take part in this research study.

Participant's signature _____

Date _____

Printed Name of Participant: _____

Printed name of person obtaining consent _____

Signature of person obtaining consent _____

Appendix 4: Focus group schedule - communities

Nature of ASB

1. Discussing what anti-social behaviour actually is?
2. Which of the following would you consider to be ASB: : Litter/Rubbish; Criminal damage/Vandalism; Vehicle-related nuisance; Nuisance behaviour; Noise; Rowdy behaviour; Abandoned vehicles; Street drinking and begging; Drug/substance misuse and drug dealing; Animal-related problems; Hoax calls; Prostitution, kerb crawling, sexual acts
3. What would you add to this in your experience living in a rural area? [wildcamping?]
4. Define the term 'rural'?

Spatiality of ASB

5. Are there specific ASB hotspots in your area? Areas of no ASB?
6. Areas you would expect to find ASB in [Abanoch/]?]
7. What forms of ASB? Do the types of ASB experienced vary within rural locations (prompt - the bottom of abanoch from the top of the village)
8. Does this influence your behaviour in these locations? In what ways? [important precursor to walking interviews]
9. Do you think how rural a location is, impacts on the type of ASB experienced by residents?
10. Who or what groups of people do you think are primarily responsible for the ASB in [Abanoch] Why?
11. In your experience, what degree of ASB in [Abanoch] is caused by the local population compared with tourists/ visitors?
12. What do you think are the main drivers for the types of ASB you have identified in [Abanoch] (prompt: alcohol, boredom etc)?
13. Does it vary depending on where you are in the village?

Impact of ASB

This section of the focus group will focus on the impact of ASB on rural communities. In particular, I am interested in understanding the **scale** of ASB on rural communities and the ways you think about impact.

14. What social impacts do you think ASB has had on the community of Abanoch?
15. Economic impacts?
16. Spatial impacts (hot spots/ times in the town?) Impact of this on community?
17. Who feels the effect of ASB most in the community?

Responses to ASB

In the final section on the focus group, I want to explore the response of you to ASB and how you as the community can interact with agencies such as the police to help combat ASB

18. Do you have any examples of where you have as a community responded to ASB?
19. How does your group respond to ASB?
20. In what ways? (informal networks)
21. In what ways do the police respond to ASB here? Is this successful?
22. How do other agencies respond? Successful?
23. Do they rely on you as a community?
24. In what ways could the response be improved?
25. What would be a successful response – eradicating ASB, long term solutions?
26. In an ideal world, how would you prevent asb from occurring?

Appendix 5: Information submitted to ethics committee

Title of project:

Space, Place and Anti-Social Behaviour in Scottish Rural Communities

Purpose of project and academic rationale:

This project aims to examine the concept of rural anti-social behaviour (ASB), in particular investigating how communities, the police and local authorities interact to tackle ASB in rural environments. Using the geographies of crime and geographies of youth literature as a basis, this project seeks to contribute to gaps in understandings of rural anti-social behaviour and governance of rural ASB. Through analysis of existing urban ASB, the perception that rural settlements have a greater sense of community and therefore lower ASB will be tested. This examination will proceed through two case studies which have been chosen to explore the nature, impact and responses to ASB in a variety of different types of rural communities in Scotland. This thesis adopts a qualitative approach in terms of the methods used to generate and gather data. Three research objectives will be tested to address the thesis aim:

1. What is the nature and meaning of ASB in rural Scotland and at what scale is it best to conceptualise and theorise ASB?
2. In what ways does ASB impact within rural localities in Scotland, and how can we better understand who is impacted and in what ways by ASB in rural locations?
3. From the local scale up to the national scale, what are the community and Government responses to ASB in rural Scotland and in what ways do the policing, community and local authority responses to ASB differ from those in urban environments?

Anti-social behaviour is not a new phenomenon, with cases of noisy neighbours and difficult tenants stretching back to the 1970s (Poppstone, 1979). However, since Labour came to power in 1997, anti-social behaviour has been high on the policy agenda, highlighted by their election tagline “tough on crime, tough on the causes of crime” (Labour Party, 1995). This tough stance has been continued by the Scottish Government, which announced that tackling the causes of anti-social behaviour is key to their strategic objective for a ‘safer, stronger’ Scotland (Scottish Government, 2009). Since the introduction of the Antisocial Behaviour etc. (Scotland) Act 2004, the relationship between the community, quality of life, respect and active citizenship is articulated through policy development. The *Together and Respect* campaign launched in 2004 and the Respect Task Force set up in 2006 aimed to “play a vital role in improving our communities and the lives of people in them and strengthen communities to ensure that public spaces are clean and safe” (Respect Task Force, 2006). Active citizenship is a key way of increasing respect within communities, especially through community policing and neighbourhood watch schemes.

It would therefore appear that the concepts of public space, community and anti-social behaviour are inextricably linked. This is borne out in the academic literature surrounding anti-social behaviour through paradigmatic representation in the urban realm - particularly through analysis of zero tolerance policing, urban renaissance

and noting the effects of socio economic development on urban crime (Fyfe, 2004; Davis, 1992; Zukin 1995 and Low and Smith, 2006). However, rural geographies, particularly in relation to community and anti-social behaviour, remain largely under researched. The rural is often portrayed through the popular media and classic texts as being idyllic and having a strong sense of community spirit (Mathews et al, 2000; Valentine 1997). However, rather than being part of an ideal community many young adults, especially the least affluent, feel both spatially and temporally dislocated from village life and wider society (Mathews et al, 2000). These are feelings which are often conducive to causing anti-social behaviour (Scottish Government, 2007). Furthermore, with the different legal context used in Scotland and the distinction in its use of dispersal orders and ASBO's, the two case studies chosen will help provide analysis of different police and local authority responses to rural anti-social behaviour.

Description of Methods and Measurements and data storage:

This study will use qualitative methods of participant observation through written diary, focus groups, and semi-structured interviews. As can be seen in section 4, participants under the age of 18 only make up a small part of this study's participants. It is their role in the study that will be focused on in this document, as the other participants do not fall into any of the 'special categories' outlined on the ethics committee approval form and all ethics standards will be upheld in accordance with the University of Dundee guidelines.

Participant observation in relation to the youth in this study will involve running focus groups with groups of 4-8 youth at a time, which is line with the accepted numbers of participants in the literature (eg Bryman, 2004), in a total of two case study locations. Using a mixture of different youth clubs to access participants across the two case study locations, visual observations, written notes and audio recordings will be made during and after focus groups. Focus groups will be conducted with a selection of male and female participants from each of the above spaces and youth activities. Participants will be 12 and above in age (in line with those participating in the youth groups) and will be made fully aware of the project and the way that the data will be used and stored. In terms of running the focus groups, themes will be identified by the researcher and the focus group will adopt a flexible approach to allow participants to guide the discussion(s).

Semi-structured interviews and participant observation will also be conducted with key informants within the police, local authority and third sectors who are tasked with controlling and reducing rural ASB. Focus group will also be run with adult community council groups. Interview questions will be designed and structured by the researcher but will allow for flexibility based on interviewee responses. My data, collected in the form of observations recorded in written diary notes, semi-structured interviews and focus groups, which will be tape recorded, pending consent, and transcribed, will be confidentially stored for the duration of the PhD or three years. After the duration of three years, data will be filed in a locked, non-portable container to reference for future research. All names will be removed, and pseudonyms given to participants and youth groups. No data will be revealed which would identify the informant or group in any way.

1. Participants: recruitment methods, number, age, gender, exclusion/inclusion criteria:

In order to gain a holistic view of rural anti-social behaviour, five principle groups of participants will take part in this study. Participants can choose to opt-in to this study. A participant information sheet will be provided to all participants, summarising the research, how to opt in and how the data will be stored. Participants will be selected from:

- Police officers – using a ‘snowballing’ technique of recruitment, around 9 police officers will be included in this study. The Superintendent will identify suitable participants who will then be approached and will be able to opt-in to this study. The linear command structure of the police requires a Superintendent to verbally approve the research prior to approaching Community Officers. However, it will be me that is contacting these participants (not the Superintendent) and it will be stressed to the Superintendent that it is the individual employee’s choice whether to participate in the study or not. This will reduce the issue of potential coercion. In addition, it will be made clear to Officers that there will be no penalty if they do not opt-in to this study. Participants will be a variety of ages and a mix of male and females. Semi-structured interviews and participant observation will be the methods used.
- Local Authority – Again, people who work in the area of rural ASB will be identified. This will be done by ‘snowballing’ through contacts from other agencies, by attending cross-agency meetings and by using the internet. Appointments will be made on an individual basis. Semi-structured interviews will be carried out with around 7-10 participants of mixed age and gender
- Third sector – A variety of those working principally with youth will be identified and interviewed in a semi-structured manner. They will be identified by ‘snowballing’ through contacts from other agencies, by attending cross-agency meetings and by using the internet. Appointments will be made on an individual basis. This will be those working in the two case study locations will be interviewed, along with line managers. Again they will be a mix of ages and genders.
- Communities – In order to access community, community councils will be approached. Community council meetings are public. I will recruit potential participants after the community council meeting, give participation information sheets to those who choose at this initial stage to opt-in and arrange a convenient time to meet with those who opt-in. At this meeting the research will be explained and those who opted-in will again be clearly asked if they agree to continue to be a part of the research process. By this stage, the participants will have had the participation information sheets for a period of time and may have questions etc which I can answer. All participants will be over the age of 18. Focus groups will be run with a selection of participants selected from these community structures. A variety of ages and male and female will be included.
- Youth - will be recruited through third sector youth groups (already identified) with participants of around 30 in total aged between 12-18. The groups have been chosen to represent a variety of different types of rural location and socio-economic characteristics. I will approach the identified

youth groups, who will work as gate keepers. I will provide the leader of the youth group with a research summary, outlining the purpose of the research, the data that will be produced and how long that data will be stored for. We will discuss any additional ethics requirements for working with participants the youth clubs. They will help identify the best way of conducting the focus groups. Young people will then be able to opt-in to the research – it will be reiterated that there will be no penalty for not taking part and that opting-in is the decision of the young person. The issue of consent is explored in the next section in more detail. At no point will I be employed by the youth group or be there in any other capacity other than a researcher. I already have a disclosure Scotland criminal record check; however any additional disclosure requirements for the youth groups will be met.

Consent and participant information arrangements, debriefing:

Informed consent will be sought for all participants in this study. All participants will be given a participant information sheet, stressing that participation is voluntary and anonymity is guaranteed. In terms of the under 18s in the study, an alternative opt-in information booklet will be given to all participants prior to undertaking the research explaining what is involved and what the research is about. Only if they decide to participate in the project will they be required to give their informed consent, consent which they can withdraw at any point. The sheet for informed consent is attached. This information booklet (attached) is more explanatory than the version given to the other adult participants. In addition, the researcher's details are included on the sheet so that the participant can withdraw after the research has concluded. Prior to undertaking the research I will ask that anyone who feels uncomfortable with the research project to discuss with myself or the youth group leader (who can then feedback to myself), stressing that participation is voluntary, anonymity is guaranteed and students should feel free to ask questions or ask to leave the focus group at any time during my observations. Because the research proposes both participant observation *and* focus group methods with youth, both of these methods will be discussed in the leaflet. However, it will be made clear to all participants that participation in the observation phase does not require participation in the focus groups.

It is generally accepted under Scots law, that one parent or carer must consent to the research of a child under the age of 16 (and under the age of 18 in the University of Dundee's ethics guidelines). Drawing on Masson (2004), France (2005) indicates that '[r]equiring parental consent can also be seen as a denial of young people's right to be heard to make decisions for themselves' (p. 180). In this project, it is important to speak to youth in an environment that they feel secure in and that they trust me as a researcher. Hopkins (2010: 58) highlights how research with young people is often 'tokenistic and short-term', something which this project aims to avoid designing the research in such a way that those young people involved are 'making ethical decisions'. By undertaking this strand of the research through the youth clubs, which are acting loco parentis, as long as their guidelines are followed and parental verbal consent is given, ethical research can be undertaken. Indeed, all potential participants will be given the information sheet (see attached). Young people will be encouraged to share this information with parents and carers, and a number will be provided that parents can contact me on. Verbal parental consent will be gained where possible. Researchers within the field of children's geographies have highlighted the difficulties in getting written parental/guardian consent. Young and

Barrett (2001) discuss the ethical implications of working with street children without the possibility of gaining informed parental consent, while Balen et al (2006) note the importance of treating young people as active agents for who informed parental written consent is not always possible to achieve. Working through organisations, such as youth clubs, mitigate most ethical concerns around not getting written verbal consent (Hopkins, 2010). Despite the difficulties in gaining informed parental consent from participants from chaotic backgrounds, I will endeavour to gain at least informed verbal consent (and written where possible) from the parents of young people who opt-in to the research process.

Using the information sheet (see attached), importantly participants will get the option to opt *in* rather than having to opt *out* of this research. This means that consent will be sought from all young people who opt into the research, which is ethically less problematic than assuming ethical consent and requiring participants to opt out of research (The Research Ethics Guidebook, 2011; Barker and Weller, 2003). Allowing young people in this study to take the ethical lead in deciding whether they take part or not is important in recognising that young people are important social actors (Young and Barrett, 2001) in relation to rural anti-social behaviour. Indeed, the International Planned Parenthood Federation point to three stages of childhood, with the last stage from the age of 10 and above, being classed as adolescence (IPPF, 2011: 10). In this stage of childhood, it is argued that certain sensitive subjects (such as rural anti-social behaviour) should be allowed to be undertaken without requiring parental written consent. However, although the young person will have the initial say in whether they want to be part of this project, a minimum of verbal consent shall be sought from the guardian of those opting into this research.

Indeed Langevang (2009: 46) notes in her study with youth in Ghana that 'qualitative studies require prolonged interaction with research participants, not only to understand their life worlds, but also form relationships, build rapport and gain mutual trust'. In order to do this, and to gain a holistic insight into how the youth in my two case studies perceive rural anti-social behaviour, I think it is important to research with them rather than on them. Strict ethical guidelines will still be adhered to through the youth group organisations facilitating access to participants, while debriefing will occur when all of the focus groups have been conducted. Debriefing will be made to the participants and the youth groups both verbally and in a summary of written findings. In particular, young people will have the option to comment on the findings and clarify any issues brought up in the research. Participants will be given my contact details should they will to follow up with individual questions and/or comments. By getting verbal consent from the guardian of those participants who opt-in to the research process, ethical research can be undertaken.

2. Clear statement of the ethical considerations raised by the project and how you intend to deal with them:

This thesis will adhere to strict ethical and legal guidelines for research with children and young people. The project is adhering to Alderson and Morrow's (2004) book entitled *Ethics, social research and consulting with children and young people*. The main ethical concern is working with children in the age bracket 12-18 and the additional complexities that arise from this. Alderson and Morrow's (2004: 61) highlight that the legal positioning on obtaining parental consent in the UK is not

clear, especially ‘given the recognition that competent children can give valid consent’. They define competence as having ‘sufficient understanding and intelligence to understand what is proposed and sufficient discretion to enable [a child] to make a wise choice in his or her own interests’ (Alderson and Morrow, 2004: 99). Based on this body of work, this project will gain informed consent from all participants and follow the strict ethical guidelines of the clubs acting as gatekeepers. I will gain informed consent from all young people *opting into* this research, and from the organisations acting in loco parentis. In addition, a minimum of verbal parental consent will be gained for those under 16, while it will always be sought from the organisations that are acting as gatekeepers to the young participants.

Further ethical considerations raised by the project include issues of child protection as I will be working with children in the age range 12-18 and also may be alone with (groups of) children in the space of the youth club focus groups. To this extent, I have received successful clearance from Disclosure Scotland. I will apply for any additional Disclosure Scotland checks required by the groups with whom I wish to work. Furthermore, as I am planning to run focus groups with the children and young people, there will never be a time when I am alone individually with one child. Another ethical consideration raised by the project is particular to ethnographic methods and involving me as a researcher as well as someone who is participating with the youth club. The ethical consideration which is raised here is that my identity will be constantly shifting (as a researcher, a participant, an instructor and/or mentor) and I will be spending an extended period of time with research participants (as ethnographers do). However, for purposes of research it will be important to recentre the focus on the research to assure that participants are speaking to me and giving me information that they know is a part of the research.

Estimated start date and duration of project:

The above timetable shows duration of the fieldwork. The PhD is fully funded by the Economic and Social Research Council until October 2013 and therefore, June 2012-September 2013 will be spent on transcription, analysis and writing of the thesis as well as the viva examination.

Appendix 6: Leaflet given to young people

Rural anti-social behaviour: What is your view?



Andrew Wooff

University of Dundee

What am I interested in hearing about?

- What you think anti-social behaviour means
- What is the impact of anti-social behaviour on your lives?
- Why you think anti-social behaviour occurs?
- What you think can be done to help prevent anti-social behaviour
- Whether you think the police and other agencies deal with anti-social behaviour in a good way

Why am I interested in what you think about anti-social behaviour?

Because when the politicians and police get together to plan their strategies for dealing with anti-social behaviour, they often don't spend very long speaking to people in rural locations. I think this is important and I am therefore interested in speaking to people in rural locations to try to understand better the anti-social behaviour that they experience.

What will I do with the information you give me?

I will write a report which will be given to a number of different people involved in the study...including you if you would like! I may also come back and talk to you about what I found out.

If you would like to take part...

Please email me at: a.j.wooff@dundee.ac.uk

Or phone me on:
07731304161

More information about the project can be found here:

ajwooff.wordpress.com

Remember you can withdraw at any time from the study, without penalty.

What activities will we do as part of the research...

I am interested in interviewing you for about an hour about some of the issues discussed on the other side of this leaflet. This can be on an individual basis, or if you prefer with some other members of the community.

I am interested in hearing about your perceptions of anti-social behaviour in Crian. This will involve writing down some of the things you think count as anti-social behaviour. I will also ask about some of your experiences of anti-social behaviour and we will have a think about how it can be prevented. This again can be done individually or in groups. These group activities may be tape recorder so that I can have something to refer to when I'm writing about my study. The tapes will be kept locked and I will be the only one to listen to them. They will be destroyed once I am finished writing up my study.

Anything you say will be kept private...

When I write my report, I will use the stories that you and others have told me in the group interviews. But no-one will know that it's your story, because no real names will be used in the report - not even 'Crian' will be identified...you can choose a fake name to use if you like

Appendix 7: Themes for young people observation

Types of Rural ASB:

- How do young people understand ASB?
- What they class as ASB
- What do young people do at youth club?
- Interactions with youth worker
- Categories: Litter/Rubbish; Criminal damage/Vandalism; Vehicle-related nuisance; Nuisance behaviour; Noise; Rowdy behaviour; Abandoned vehicles; Street drinking and begging; Drug/substance misuse and drug dealing; Animal-related problems; Hoax calls; Prostitution, kerb crawling, sexual acts
- Forms of rural ASB / Importance of ASB as an issue
- Is it a problem in Abanoch/Crian?
- How much ASB is 'a problem'?
- Signs of rural ASB
- What type of behaviour happening that could be considered AS by other residents?
- How young people use public spaces (in an AS manner?)

Social Geographies of young people:

- Places it happens in the village
- Timings (week, time, months)
- Locations and how that affects how young people use the space
- Environments (how does this correspond to types of asb)
- Locals Vs outsiders causing asb.

Impact of Rural ASB:

- Impact of ASB legislation just on young people? Blamed? Fair?
- Impact of visible ASB for individuals
- Impact of ASB on community (move 2 improve etc).
- Impact on local businesses/ reputation.
- Who is responsible in rural communities?
- Scale of impact of visible ASB

Response:

- Visible responses of community? (anger, frustration, acceptance, 'kids will be kids')
- Invisible responses of community? (control, reputation of member of the community)
- Spatiality of responses (eg where does ASB occur and why?)
- How do young people respond – do they use hidden spaces away from the police?
- Visible responses of the police (patrols etc)
- Youth reaction to community and police response
- Who do the young in the community see as 'in control' of their behaviour
- Who controls young people's behaviour?
- What is the response of young people?



Appendix 8: Young persons informed consent form

Space, place and anti-social behaviour in Scottish rural communities

I have thought about taking part in this project and would like to be part of the group interviews and project.

By putting your name below you are agreeing that you have read and understood the Participant Information Leaflet and that you agree to take part in this research study. You don't need to use your real name.

Remember you can withdraw at any time from the study, with no problems:

Participant's name:

Date

Printed Name of Participant:

I agree to the audio recording of the group interview:

YES NO (Circle as appropriate)

Signature of person obtaining consent

Appendix 9: Young person focus group schedule

Preamble, context and Information:

Introduction – me + project

Stress importance of informed consent and choice

Tape recorder

Structure of focus group

Introductions of members of the group

Introduction to activity 1 – trying to understand what ASB is and means to you

Activity 1: What is ASB? Note on sheet of paper what you think ASB is
Discuss this – why do you think that? Examples of extreme versions of ASB
(wildcamping etc)

Activity 2: General scenarios of ASB – rank them and then discuss.
Thinking about Abanoch then...

Activity 3: Most common Abanoch Specific ASB – rank then discuss

Activity 4: Locations of ASB in Abanoch – mark on the map.

Nature of ASB

What type of activity happens where? Always same type of ASB? Why?

Who is responsible for ASB in different locations – groups or individuals? Ages?

Locals versus outsiders (prompts stags versus locals).

Are there times ASB is worse

When time/day is it likely to take place?

Can you describe the kinds of people who this is associated with?

How common is anti-social behaviour in your area?

Does this influence your behaviour in these locations? In what ways?

Thinking back to the activity about ASB – do you think because Abanoch is rural
that influences the type of ASB experienced there?

Impact

What do you think the main causes of anti-social behaviour?

Who do you think is affected most by ASB in Abanoch?

Impact of ASB on Abanoch?

Do you feel the impact of ASB? How? Change where you hang out?

Response:

Who gets the blame for ASB here? Why?

How does the community respond to perceived ASB? Any examples?

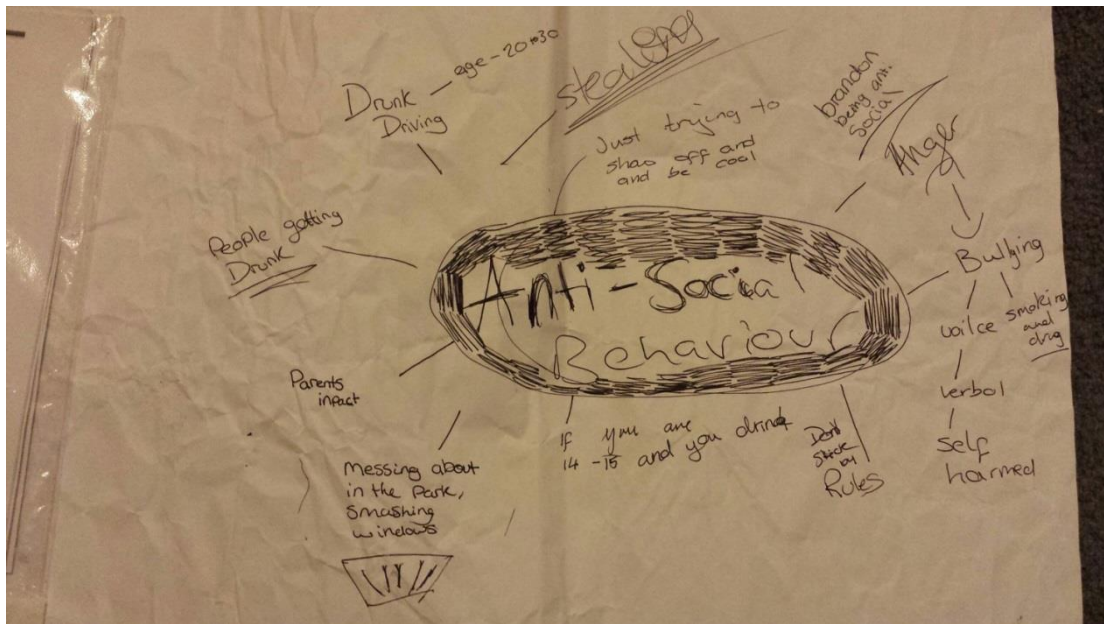
How do the police respond? Trust? Community officer?

Youth clubs?

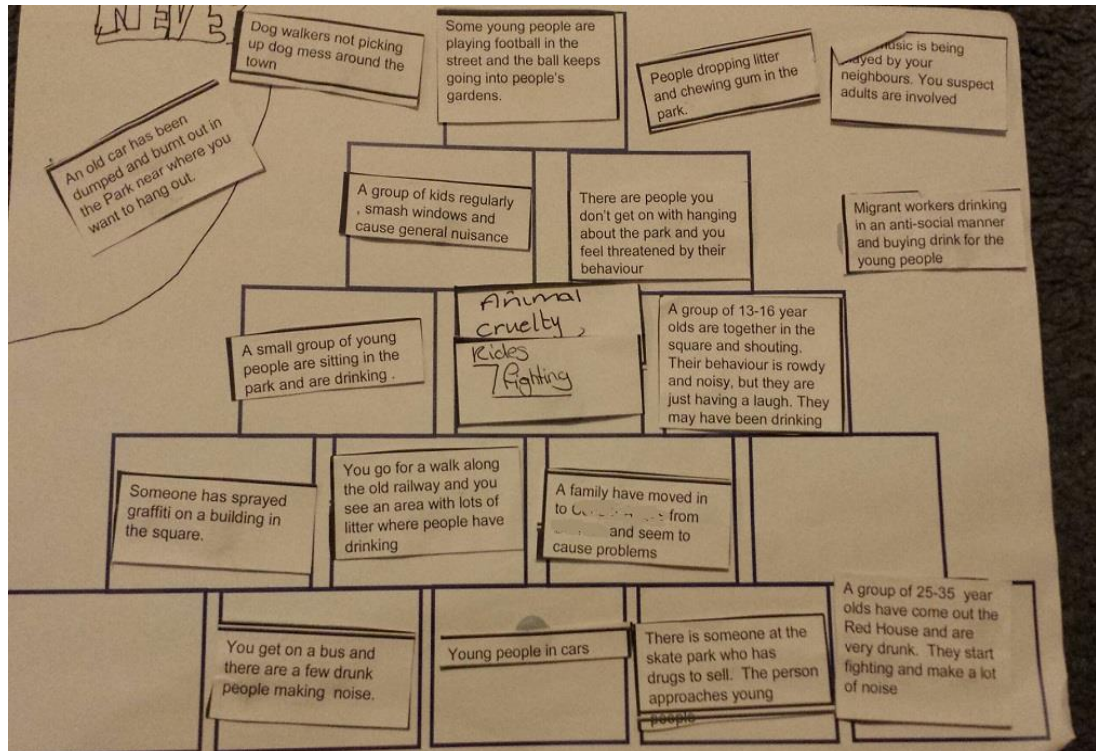
How do you think ABS can be tackled?

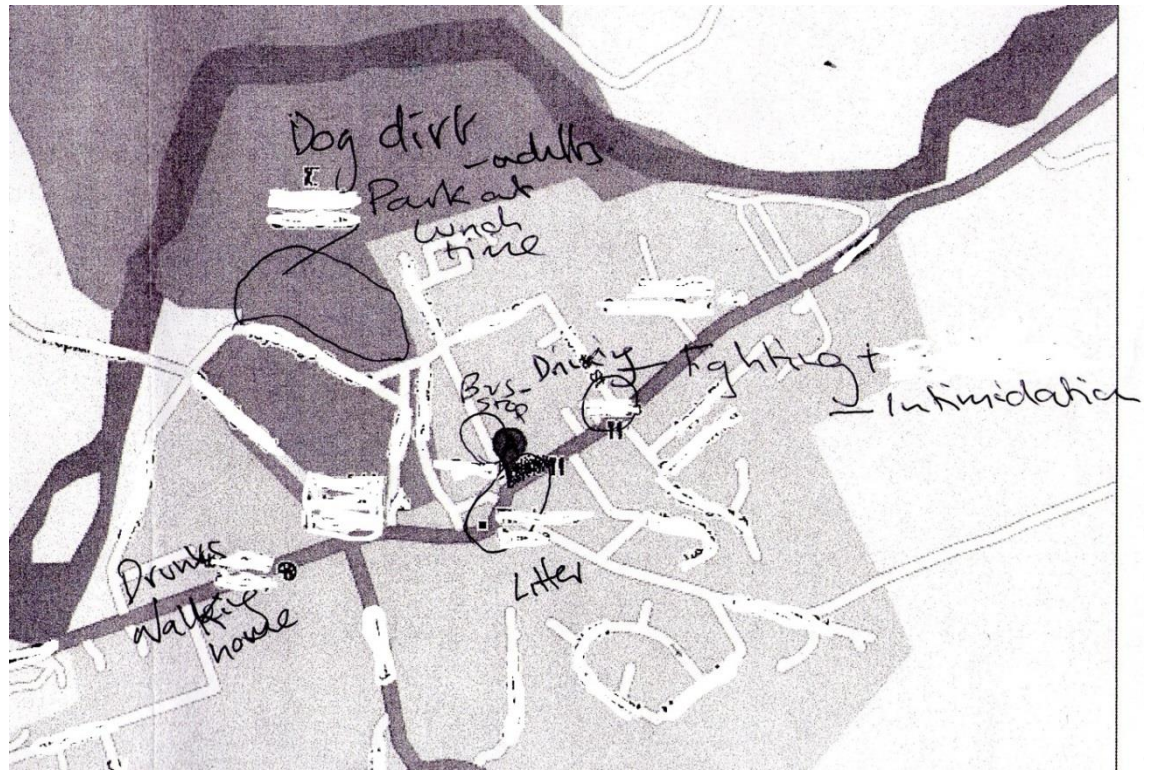
How would you prevent it?

Is there anything you would like me to say in my report to put your views across?

Appendix 10: Mind mapping of the term anti-social behaviour

Appendix 11: The 'harm' triangle completed by young people



Appendix 12: Example of map filled in by young people

Appendix 13: Themes for police participant observation

Themes for police observation

Nature

- What types of ASB do the police get called about in Abanoch?
- Route they take? Why?
- Forms of ASB that the police prioritise?
- Number of calls
- Are all calls that considered ASB, actually ASB? (: Litter/Rubbish; Criminal damage/Vandalism; Vehicle-related nuisance; Nuisance behaviour; Noise; Rowdy behaviour; Abandoned vehicles; Street drinking and begging; Drug/substance misuse and drug dealing; Animal-related problems; Hoax calls; Prostitution, kerb crawling, sexual acts)
- Additional ASB found in rural areas?
- Where? Hotspots? DO types of ASB differ in different parts of the village?

Impact

- Who is primarily impacted ? Scale of Impact?
- Who most often calls for police intervention (pub landlords, land owners)?
- In what ways are these people impacted?
- Is there a social impact, in terms of trying to keep public spaces free of ASB or moving young people on?
- What is the economic impact of ASB, in terms of pubs and tourism?
- Do the impacts of ASB change depending on the types of ASB and where it occurs?
- Harm...is it used?
- Who impacted most?

Policing Responses

- How do the police respond to calls of ASB?
- Main types of ASB responded to?
- Discretion?
- Characteristics of officers? (examples)
- How do policing responses vary depending on location
- In what ways do they utilise informal community networks?
- Informal responses
- What is successfully combatting asb?
- How do the police measure this success?
- Do certain spatial areas receive more/less attention?
- Are there examples of ways that rural police utilise local knowledge of individuals and places to combat specific forms of rural ASB?

Appendix 14: Desk based interview police schedule

Preamble

There has been a reasonably large amount of debate in recent years surrounding anti-social behaviour in urban settings. However, there is dearth of work exploring anti-social behaviour in rural settings. In particular, rural policing has specific challenges – including working very closely with a small community and dealing with the challenges of geographic dispersion. I am interested in understanding more about your role, responsibilities and experiences, particularly in terms of working in the divisional area/ Abanoch/ Crian.

Confidentiality statement – completely confidential, individual officers will not be named or identified and info will not be passed to senior officers.

The first part of this interview is going to focus on the nature of ASB – I am particularly interested in your experience as a police officer working in a rural location and both the subtle and marked differences in the types of ASB. In addition, I'm interested in hearing about your perceptions of ASB in the Abanoch area and the variations of ASB over space. Any stories you have to illustrate your answers would also be helpful.

Part A – Nature of ASB

1. Can you start by introducing yourself and your role within Police?
2. What does the term anti-social behaviour mean to you?
 - a. What are the differences between ASB and criminal behaviour?
 - b. Which of the following do you consider ASB? Why? Litter/Rubbish; Criminal damage/Vandalism; Vehicle-related nuisance; Nuisance behaviour; Noise; Rowdy behaviour; Abandoned vehicles; Street drinking and begging; Drug/substance misuse and drug dealing; Animal-related problems; Hoax calls; Prostitution, kerb crawling, sexual acts
 - c. What would you add to this list in your experience of ASB?
 - d. Do you think this list is a fair representation of ASB in [Abanoch/Crian] in your experience?
3. Do you think rural officers encounter different forms of ASB compared to their urban counterparts?
 - a. In your experience, is rural ASB something that is accounted for in policing policy?
4. How do you measure the performance and impact a community officer is making on something like ASB? Measure ASB?

(Part B: Spatiality of ASB)

5. In your experience do different rural areas in suffer varying amounts of ASB? (Prompt: different communities different amounts of ASB)
 - a. Apart from the 'nuisance calls', are there any other ways you measure ASB?
 - b. Are there specific ASB 'hotspots' in your policing area? If so why do you think they are?

- c. Do you think how rural a location is, impacts on the type of ASB experienced by residents? (Prompt: Does the type of ASB experienced in different places differ from that in Abanoch?)
 - d. Do the types of ASB experienced vary within rural locations (prompt - the bottom of Abanoch from the top of the village)
6. What groups of people do you think are primarily responsible for the ASB in [Abanoch] that you have identified? Why?
- a. Does this vary between rural locations in your experience? (prompt: differences between Abanoch/Crian) Why?
 - b. In your experience, what degree of ASB in [Abanoch/Crian] is caused by the local population compared with tourists/ visitors?
 - c. What do you think are the main drivers for the types of ASB you have identified in [Abanoch/Crian] (prompt: alcohol, boredom etc)?
 - d. Does this vary between rural locations? Why?
 - e. Why do you think the drivers you have identified are prevalent in [Abanoch/Crian?] (prompt – pub opening times, alcohol pricing etc)

The next section of questions focuses on the response of the police in rural communities when dealing with rural ASB in [Abanoch/Crian]. In particular, I am interested in hearing about how policing resources are utilised in rural locations and whether informal policing networks are utilised in order to respond to reports of ASB.

Part C - Response of the Police

7. In your experience as an officer within police force, what are your divisional priorities for policing ASB in [Abanoch/Crian]?
- a. How does this impact on you and the way you deal with ASB in [Abanoch/Crian]?
 - b. What challenges are there in the management of police officers in rural environments?
 - c. Do these challenges vary depending on the rurality of the beat?
 - d. How do you balance internal performance targets versus community based policing targets?
 - e. [Move on policy] – detrimental?
 - f. Officer specialisms
8. How much of a role does policing discretion play in rural policing?
- g. Do you think those higher up in the force are understanding of these differences?
 - h. Can you outline your response for tackling the ASB you have identified as problematic {Q3} in [Abanoch/Crian]
 - i. How is success measured in relation to policing ASB?
 - j. How do police evaluate whether their ASB policies are successful?
 - k. What do you think is the best way of preventing persistent ASB (prompt – ASBOs, social services, dispersal orders etc)

- l. Do you think the expectations of the police vary between different communities in (prompt – do you think the Abanoch community require a different response than Crian?)
 - m. Does the response in [Abanoch/Crian] vary between communities within this town and do you think this relates to socio – economic variation between communities? (prompt – community expectations of policing)?
9. To what degree do you think that informal networks can be utilised in combatting ASB in [Abanoch/Crian] (prompt – neighbourhood watches, community networks)
- n. What is your opinion of the way that local authority respond to the specific challenges of rural ASB poses?
 - o. Do you think this is something which can be utilised and mobilised more easily in rural locations such as {Abanoch/Crian} than in urban locations?
 - p. In your experience, do these networks vary between places?
 - q. What do you think it is that improves these kind of police-community networks? And what are the barriers/opportunities to these networks forming?
 - r. What are the challenges involved with mobilising local people to help prevent ASB?
10. In terms of moving forward, do you think the PIER (prevention, intervention, enforcement, rehab/reassurance) model works well when policing rural ASB in Abanoch/Crian?
- s. What about utilising more enforcement (asbos etc) methods, which are more widely utilised down south?
 - t. In an ideal world, what more do you think could be done to tackle rural anti-social behaviour?
11. **[SINGLE POLICE FORCE]** As the single police force comes into practice, do you foresee any major changes in the way that rural policing is practiced?
- u. What do you foresee as the biggest challenges/worries and concerns?

Part D – Impact of ASB

This section of the interview will focus on the impact of ASB on rural communities. In particular, I am interested in understanding the **scale** of ASB on rural communities and how you define the term impact.

Impact of Rural ASB

12. Do you think the police are made aware of most ASB in rural locations? Is so, how (eg phonecall, incidental chat etc)
13. Do you have any specific examples of when ASB has impacted detrimentally/positively on Abanoch/Crian?
14. How much of a social impact, for instance people choosing not to use specific spaces, do you think ASB has on the community of [Abanoch/Crian]?
15. Are there areas within the village that are more prone to suffering from the effects of ASB?
What affect do you think ASB has on individuals within these community(s) compared to other parts?

- 16.** How do forms of ASB vary in different parts of the village (prompt – do you think residents in different parts of the village suffer different forms of ASB?)
- 17.** In your experience, do you think there is an economic impact of ASB on the community of [Abanoch]? (prompt – in terms of investment)
- 18.** In your experience, do you think there is a socio-economic dimension to who feels the effects of ASB most (prompt – poorer = more ASB)?
- 19.** Do you have any further questions or points to consider and anyone you think I should speak to?

Appendix 15: A sample of the codes from Nvivo

Name	Sources	References
Abanoch versus	9	19
Age in relation to ASB	2	4
Anglers versus Rafters	2	3
ASB and apathy	2	8
ASB as a perception	22	51
ASB as cyclical, 'conveyer belt of trouble'	14	32
ASB as not fitting norms	4	4
ASB as predominantly an urban issue	2	2
ASB as running in the family	17	39
Attitudes of those committing ASB	3	3
Background to Abanoch	3	3
Behaviour associated with ASB	2	5
Beirut	4	6
Community responses to ASB	3	6
Community Events	6	14
Community Groups	9	16
CART	5	12
Community Council	13	30
Community groups having the same people on them	7	16
FCA	8	35
M2I	1	6
PoP	3	8
Time banking	6	22
Community strength in rural areas	18	38
Community's bonding around issues	16	37
Divided communities	9	28
Importance of cross generationality in preventing ASB	19	43
Neighbourhood watch	6	9
Role of cinema	10	19
Role of the community cafe	5	13
The Y	2	7
Voluntary Groups	4	5
Context of ASB	13	31
Dealing with ASB in community + yourself	27	73
Definition of ASB	2	4
Differentiating between criminality and ASB	23	41
Differentiating between 'kids will be kids' and ASB	18	28
Alcohol in ASB	23	47
Broken windows thesis	9	14
Changes in society	7	9
Drugs	11	16
Jealousy	2	2
Lack of aspiration and expectation	6	20
Lack of respect and understanding	21	47

Lack of responsibility	6	10
Rural boredom 'there's nothing to do'	14	26
Unemployment	3	6
Upbringing+family background	11	26
Emotions in relation to ASB	1	2
Anger	9	11
Frustration	4	4
Intimidation	10	30
Scared	10	19
Upset	6	7
vulnerability	5	6
Worry	1	2
Expansion of Abanoch	2	3
Forms of ASB associated with INCOMERS	3	4
Alcohol + drinking in the street	18	35
Anything that is illegal, offensive, impinges on people negatively	9	14
Bullying	9	19
Dog dirt	23	47
Drugs	22	54
Drunk and rowdy	9	29
Fighting	12	43
Graffiti	10	20
Hanging about in gangs	4	6
Hanging about in park and square	6	7
Kicking balls off the wall	11	14
Lack of community consideration	6	10
The birks hydro scheme	1	7
Littering	27	59
Neighbourhood problems	17	49
Noise	26	67
Partying	7	7
Underage drinking	20	51
vandalism	17	42
Vehicle nuisance	15	26
Wild camping	7	13
Young people misbehaving-messing about	28	58
Housing issues and ASB	5	5
Council housing	12	19
Housing association renters	5	8
Poor selection of tenants by HA and council	9	12
Second home ownership	4	6
'Where do you house problem tenants'	9	16
Impact of ASB	5	7
Afraid to go to particular locations	6	7
Being aware of low level ASB because little or no serious ASB	11	14
Impact of smoking ban on ASB	4	6

Importance of context in relation to ASB	4	4
Importance of tourists in Abanoch	9	14
Insider versus outsider in Abanoch	20	64
Leaving CA to drink and hang out	5	6
Locals causing ASB	13	15
Locals versus incomers Crian	13	37
CA as a commuter location	6	11
Abanoch square	15	32
CA square	5	8
Down the railway	1	3
Largan Park	6	12
Princess Croft	11	25
Schiehallon bar	9	22
The Birks	6	9
The Palace	3	3
The River	5	5
Victoria Park	10	23
Migrants	6	17
Migrants from west coast of Scotland	5	8
Negative view of migrants (not in ASB sense)	7	11
Positive view of migrants	7	16
Parental responsibility and ASB	14	33
Partnership working	15	79
Different agencies coming together	6	7
ASB has got worse	3	3
ASB has improved	17	37
Forms of ASB that police deal with	18	28
Have been lifted or arrested	3	7
Higher expectations	5	9
'It's not like the old days'	7	7
Knowing the police because rural location	3	3
Lack of police precense 'there never here'	13	22
Massive beat, too few police officers	11	18
Negative perceptions of the way the police respond to ASB	14	34
Negative view of police	8	14
PLS	4	9
Police being remote to village	22	42
Reporting ASB after incident	12	15
Police need to walk more	8	13
Police shift times	5	9
Police staff getting moved on	9	20
Being proactive (Operation dryup etc)	7	26
Enforcement as a failure	5	8
KPIs	4	16
Local versus national priorities	3	5
Managing resources	4	30
Measuring performance of community officers	5	16

operational versus management decisions	4	16
Policing discretion	9	24
Repeat caller initiative	4	9
Role of Inspector	5	19
Police using key informants	7	21
Positive perceptions of the way the police respond to ASB	7	8
Positive view of police	6	7
Role of community policing	25	84
Role of police in responding to ASB	11	13
Type of policing required in a rural location / resourcing	23	59
ASBOs etc	10	31
Negative view of ASBOs	9	10
Being more proactive	15	23
Better communication with young people	13	22
Better deterrents needed	7	9
Better parenting	8	12
Community Payback	8	10
curfews	4	6
Diversionary activities	18	50
Cafe for young people	3	3
Sport	4	4
Youth clubs	8	14
Focusing on positive behaviour	13	17
More policing precense	10	13
Police being located in village	6	6
Softer approaches	13	17
Strengthening the community thru better community engagement	18	33
Problems with law in relation to ASB	2	4
Recounting committing ASB in bygone era	5	9
ASB as a function of modern society	5	7
ASB as nothing new	7	9
Positive memories of committing ASB	9	18
Role of business in community	5	10
Role of council in responding to ASB	7	23
ASIT teams role	5	61
Community capacity building	1	10
Forms of ASB dealt with by the council	14	41
Housing from council side	3	20
Role of dog wardens	4	7
Role of disability and vulnerability in relation to ASB	7	10
Role of social media	5	9
Role of youth worker	7	42
Funding	3	9
Informal exchanges with cops	3	8

Difficulties with public transport	12	24
Everyone knowing each other	17	45
Small community mentality	4	4
Facilities in Abanoch for community	11	22
Facilities in Crian	6	10
Importance of people knowing each other in small community	27	54
Number of roles in small communities	3	5
Isolation	3	7
Not reporting ASB to council because of distance	2	3
Quality of life in rural Scotland	3	3
Safety	10	14
Small minded rural community	3	4
Scale of rurality	9	12
Sexual behaviour of young people	3	6
Single police force	7	14
Small number of families causing large % of ASB	17	40
Socio-economic impact and ASB	25	56
Poorer young people getting left out	8	15
Spatiality of ASB	21	38
Stereotyping and blaming young people	12	42
The role of power	13	27
The role of toilets	2	3
Night time	8	13
School Lunchtime	7	8
Summer time	11	11
Weekends	7	10
Too many community groups	6	8
Underlying problems driving ASB	3	4
What is NOT ASB	19	45
21-30	12	21
Dog owners (adults)	2	3
Elderly ASB	9	16
Older drinkers	8	15
Outsiders causing ASB	5	5
Holidaymakers	8	10
Migrants	3	3
Rich incomers	7	17
Stag parties	15	34
Young 18-21	12	14
'Youths'	27	66
Young people drinking in	5	6
Conducting ASB as a young person	4	21
Debate about what ASB is (Young)	4	28
Not going outside	3	7
avoiding locations	3	7

Appendix 16: Nvivo Screenshot

allanalysed 25-5-13.nvp - NVivo

File Home Create External Data Analyze Query Explore Layout View

Nodes

Look for: Search In Specific Codes Find Now Clear Advanced Find

Specific Codes

Name	Sources	References	Created On
• Policing discretion	9	24	08/05/2013 19:04
• Repeat caller initiative	4	9	08/05/2013 16:21
• Role of Inspector	5	19	09/05/2013 10:50
• Police using key informants	7	21	21/02/2013 22:37
• Positive perceptions of the way the police respond to ASB	7	8	17/02/2013 18:22
• Positive view of police	6	7	21/02/2013 12:08
• Role of community policing	25	84	21/02/2013 12:08
• Role of police in responding to ASB	11	13	16/02/2013 13:56
• Type of policing required in a rural location	23	59	14/04/2013 20:34
• Poor image of CA	3	4	02/05/2013 19:34
• Preventing ASB	0	0	21/02/2013 15:22
• Acceptable behaviour agreements	1	1	11/05/2013 16:52
• ASBOs etc	10	31	21/02/2013 15:23
• Negative view of ASBOs	9	10	14/04/2013 20:36
• Being more proactive	15	23	14/04/2013 20:20
• Better communication with young people	13	22	21/02/2013 22:40

Sources

Nodes